TWO DISCOURSES.

The first concerning

A Private Settlement at Home

AFTER

TRAVEL.

The Second concerning the

STATESMAN,

Or Him who is in

PUBLICK EMPLOYMENTS.

By J. GAILHARD, *Gent.*

LONDON,
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MDCLXXXII.

Ja: A Murray

DISCOURSE

Concerning

A Private Settlement at Home

AFTER

TRAVEL,

Being the Third Part of the

INSTITUTION of YOUTH.

By *J. GAILHARD*, Gent.

Heu nos miſeri quorum vita eſt in exiliô,
Via in periculo & finis in dubio. Auguſt.

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis
(Ut priſca gens mortalium)
Paterna rura bobus exercet ſuis
Solutus omni fœnore. Hor. Epod. 2.

LONDON,
Printed by *T. H.* in the Year, 1682.

TO

My moſt Honoured Friend

Dr. *THOMAS COXE.*

SIR,

I May compare Friendſhip to a Tree, whereof effects are the Fruits, and words the Leaves; when it produces no Fruits, it ought at leaſt to afford Leaves; which laſt uſually are the fore-runners of the former, and give hopes that in due ſeaſon, it will not be barren, nor ungrateful to the pains of the Husbandman. What can he who hath received favours

from a man (except he will make himſelf unworthy of it) do leſs than own the Obligations laid on him? If Earth and Water do afford Exhalations and Vapours to the middle Region of the Air, it again returns it in Dew and Rain. As men are not willing to do any thing in vain, ſo they have reaſon to expect ſome returns, wholly or in part ſuitable to their Kindneſs, and they who are wanting herein, become odious to God and Men; for, *Si ingratum dixeris, omnia dixeris.*

Sir, I ſpeak of theſe things, as one who is concerned, and you know I am ſo, except out

of

of a tranſcendent Exceſs of generoſity you will be one of thoſe very few, who upon duſt write Favours beſtowed; which being, I muſt have thoſe I received graven upon Marble. I confeſs I am bound to ſeveral Perſons in the World, but withall I muſt ſay, that no Friend ever obliged me with a greater Generoſity, or more often than you have done; not many men act out of ſo good Principles as you do. Few know, and fewer can practice your taking way of acting, and ſcarce is the number of thoſe, who terminate their Actions ſo well as you; ſo that though I

had not found it by my own experience, I could eaſily have learned from common Fame, that you are pious, civil, wiſe, learned, and much a Gentleman in every thing you do.

Whilſt abroad you are ſo uſeful to the Publick, and in ſeveral wayes do good to thouſands: God returning into your Boſom your Kindneſſes to others, at home, you quietly enjoy the Bleſſings of his right and left Hands, and are in Poſſeſſion of that contented Life which ſo many deſire and aim at, and ſo few can attain unto, and the beſt of all is the right uſe you make of it, looking

ing on't as the way, and not the end of your Journey.

For want of Abilities to a more effectual Thankfulneſs at leaſt, I muſt do Juſtice, not depriving you of a due acknowledgment, neither deny my ſelf that ſatisfaction, nor to truth the Teſtimony I formerly rendered to it in another Language, wherein then as well as now, I was defectuous in my Expreſſions of the great value I ſet upon your Vertues and Merit, of the high reſpect I bear to your Perſon, and of thedeep ſence I retain of your Civilities and Kindneſſes, for all which things I now

now leave this Monument, and intreat you to accept of it, as a real Token of the ſincerity and thankfulneſs of,

S I R,

Your moſt humble and
moſt obliged Servant,

J. Gailhard.

THE

THE PREFACE.

THERE *is in the World a ſort of men who deſpiſe every thing, when others on the contrary do admire at every thing, out of a humour or a prejudice conceived againſt, or out of love for Things or Perſons, and ſometimes out of ignorance: To ſome they ever ſay no, and to others alwayes ſay yea, ſo that as their Paſſion ſuggeſts, they approve or condemn. This Vice and Error at firſt crept and was inſinuated, and at laſt ſetled with ſo much Authority amongſt thoſe who pretended and profeſſed ſo much of Reaſon and Philoſophy, that the World hath ſeen* Academicians *and* Peripatheticians *ſwear upon the Words of their Maſters, and*

and with much obſtinacy defend their Opinions whatever they were: When truly rational and judicious men will ſay they are Friends to Plato, *and to* Ariſtotle, *but moſt of all to truth.*

Yet that unreaſonable Spirit continues in the World, and it ſo poſſeſſeth ſome, that for their own and Friends Opinions, with Tooth and Nail they contend, as if it was pro aris & focis, *though often upon mean and unneceſſary Subjects, not out of a deſire to find out truth, which ought to be the end of all ſuch Diſcourſes and Diſputes, but only to exerciſe their Wit and Paſſion, and pleaſe themſelves in their Vanity: Hence ariſe their hard Cenſures of the Works of other men, as to the Matter, Method, Expreſſion, Style and the like; and whilſt they abound in their own Sence, they will not give others leave to do ſo, they would put every one out of his way, to bring all into their own; that is, to effect a thing very difficult,*

if

if not unpoſſible, to make all waters run in one and the ſame Channel, all Books written in one and the ſame Style, all Pictures to be drawn according to one and the ſame Deſign, all Muſick to be upon one and the ſame Note, to have all Faces to be alike, whereof they would have their own to be the Pattern and Original, whereby that variety which makes the Beauty of the World, ſhould be taken away: Which humour, how unjuſt and ridiculous it is, I leave every rational Perſon to judge.

I hope this Conſideration will ſecure the following Diſcourſe from the ſevere Cenſure of knowing Perſons. I confeſs therein I differ from my ſelf; but this being but one Part of four, I thought, for variety ſake, I might diſpenſe from my ordinary way of Writing: It is a Subject very comprehenſive, which contains many different things, therefore ſome of the Parts are looſe from others, and cannot ſo well

be

be knit and hang together, as if but one and the ſame Matter was handled thorough the whole Book.

I know I do not follow the uſual way of Writing in theſe dayes, and the ſeveral Quotations of Latin Authors, I do not uſe (as may be ſome will imagine) to ſhew I am verſed in the Reading of them, but I aſſure you this is not my End, though it be my Way, I have more ſolid Reaſons than ſo; namely, to ſhew how great the Lights, and how ſound were the Principles of ſome Heathens, whoſe Morals were better than thoſe of ſeveral Chriſtians: And indeed I believe ſome of them had read the holy Scriptures as their Cara Deûm Soboles, *the Hiſtory of the Flood, of the Gyants ſcaling up to Heaven, and ſeveral others I bring in, can witneſs their Thoughts are ſo well expreſſed, and their Words ſo admirable in the Original, that as I found a great Emphaſis therein, I thought ſome would take plea-*

ſure

ſure in the Reading thereof, there being ſome Sentences, which ſhould be written in Letters of Gold: They who underſtand the Latin Tongue, will not think amiſs to peruſe them, but they who do not, can in Engliſh Proſe, find the Sence of thoſe Latin Verſes; and the things therein expreſſed, being brought to a Practice, can much conduce to make one lead a quiet and a happy Life, wherein I would ſee a Gentleman ſetled after he is come home from his Travels; and this in a private Way, either therein to continue, if it doth ſuit with his Genius and Intereſt; or for the ſpace of ſome years to digeſt and make Reflexions upon what he hath ſeen and learned, and joyning his former and latter Experience, to diſpoſe and fit himſelf for publick Charges and Employments.

Of a Private

SETTLEMENT

At Home.

Noah's Dove found no place of reſt, till ſhe was come to the Ark whence it went before, ſo a Traveller cannot hope for, nor ſo much as think of a Settlement till he be come home, but then he muſt mind it, and endeavor to bring to practice the knowledge and experience he hath acquired abroad. They who have Parents to take care of and promote their intereſt, have the advantage of being eaſed of the greateſt part of that trouble, ſeeing theſe watch for their good, whoſe Counſels they ought to follow, and do nothing of any concernment without their advice, but muſt rely on their Love, Care, Prudence and Experience: but thoſe who want ſuch help and are left to themſelves, are to look about them and make uſe of their wit, yet ſo, as if poſſible, to find out one true and wiſe friend or two, to unboſom themſelves to, and conſult with, four eyes ſeeing more and better than two, and as the

Proverb ſaith, a ſtander by Judges better than the Gameſter.

The firſt thing one muſt do being come over, is after he hath put himſelf in faſhionable Cloaths, to viſit his Friends, ſpecially thoſe of the chief credit and quality, and by his carriage let him give of himſelf as good opinion as he is able, and if he hath Friends at Court, he may deſire them to procure him the honour to kiſs the King's hands: but after few days ſtaying in *London*, he ought to haſten home, in caſe his Eſtate lyes in the Country, and hath no occaſion to ſtop in the City: there it concerns him to get a true and exact information of his Eſtate, and learn how to preſerve and improve it, diſcharge what Debts he is owing, and pay Portions, in a word to clear it the beſt he can, and then ſettle his ordinary expences that he may know what he is at. Let him be ſure not to live above his Eſtate, for we uſe to ſay, *as the arm is, ſo the Sleeve muſt be*, therefore let him live frugally, and be a good Husband, which conſiſteth not ſo much in ſparing as in improving his Eſtate, any ordinary man can ſave five pound in his Purſe, but he is the wiſe man, who by lawful means can raiſe the five to ten, or with ten to do as much as others with fifteen.

But before I proceed upon this Subject, I muſt look back and take the matter from farther off, thus; every man ought to propound to himſelf an end, not only of every particular thing he is to do, but alſo he is to have a general aim, and reduce all his actions to a certain point, wherein he will wiſely do to conſider his Quality, Parts, Eſtate, Inclination and the like, for every Agent ought

ought to be provided with means ſuteable to his ends, for want of which whatſoever he undertakes will be in danger to miſcarry, and if he doth ſucceed, it will on his part be by meer accident. The particular end of ſome is the ſtudy and practice of one vertue, as may be Prudence, of others Juſtice, of a third ſort Courage, generoſity, dexterity: as on the contrary we ſee others in whom one particular vice is predominant, as Ambition, Pride, Luxury, *&c.* as ſome Princes uſe to take one or other of thoſe who lived before them, to be their Patern, whoſe example and actions they follow and endeavor to imitate: yet as extreams do joyn, men are not to miſtake one for the other, and take that to be a Vertue which is a Vice, as if one named Covetouſneſs Frugality, and called Profuſeneſs Liberality.

Now men make their felicity conſiſt in the attaining to the ends they have propoſed to themſelves, for indeed 'tis no ſmall happineſs when nothing doth or can croſs our deſires, our grief being uſually cauſed by the letts and hinderances which keep our deſign from taking effect; this is ſo true, that Divines hold our felicity in Heaven could not be perfect, if there we could think of any thing that might be added to it: hence alſo it is, that here on earth men are accounted happy, becauſe they think themſelves to be ſo, though in reality it be otherwiſe; contentedneſs in a man ariſing not ſo much from the grounds and reaſons he hath to be ſatisfied with his condition, as from the opinion he is in, to be in a good one; ſo that very often we judge of the ſtate of others, not by what it is, but by what they think it to be, though it were but in imagination, that man

is content who wiſhes for no more than he hath, and this ſatisfaction is certainly a happineſs in one kind or other to him who enjoys it.

This will hold in whatſoever manner of life, whether Religious, Military, or Civil, in every one of which are particular wayes to be taken, different means to be uſed, though all ought to tend to the ſame great and ultimate end, the glory of God, and the Salvation of our Soul: indeed it is very hard, but that one muſt live a kind of life mixed of every one of theſe, for he who is a Member of a Chriſtian Church, and of a Civil Body, muſt ſubmit to the Laws and obſerve the Rules of every one of theſe Societies, in obedience to Superiors, endeavoring to promote the good of Church or State, either acting or ſuffering, whether it be required in a Civil or Military way.

The two great ends of men here tend either to action or contemplation, or to both, yet one more than to the other, according as a man hath made choice of a retired and Private, or of a publick Life, the former is free from the great croud of affairs which the other is involved in, he who lives to himſelf, may upon a better account be ſaid to live, than he who liveth to others, he is Maſter of himſelf and of his time, which he who ſerves the publick cannot ſay. But I know it to be of an unavoidable neceſſity for ſome to command, and for others to obey, one to rule and the other to be ruled, this (except there be an *Anarchy*) being the order which God hath ſetled in the World, according to the ſeveral Stations he hath placed every one in, in conſequence whereof, every one ought to have his aim at one end and

and object or other, making choice of means and wayes to attain thereunto, becauſe *ſapientis eſt ordinando ad Finem etiam ordinare ad Media*, one looking to the End muſt alſo look to the Means conducing to it.

The Private Life at preſent I intend to ſpeak of, leaving the diſcourſe about a Publick one till another time. What I call a Private, is not properly a Country Life, for in the Country one may lead a Publick Life, as well as a retired one in the City: neither is it to live meanly, no more than when one lives very high, he cannot properly be ſaid to lead a Publick Life, but 'tis to live upon his own Eſtate, and according to his quality, and to have no ſhare in the Government, nor hand in the management of Publick Affairs: So that whether a man minds his Grounds, Walks, Gardens, Hunting, Fiſhing, *&c.* in the Country, or peruſes his Books, Converſes with his Friends, or follows his ordinary buſineſs in the City, he may well be ſaid to lead the Private and retired manner of Life I am now about to diſcourſe upon. One of the things moſt obvious to a Gentleman after his Travels, is a purpoſe of Marriage, for may be Parents have thought upon providing him of a Wife againſt his coming Home. Indeed if he be the Eldeſt of the Family with a good Eſtate belonging to it, no rational man will condemn the deſire of Parents to uſe ordinary means to have it continued to Poſterity, though ſome are not ſo haſty, for except there be a good opportunity offered, they will take time to ſee how civil, ſober and diſcreet he is like to prove. Some indeed are afraid, and not without reaſon, that bad Company will draw him into Vices; Young

mens minds are reſtleſs, and the beſt way to ſettle them, is to give them a Wife, which is true, but oftentimes they ſo little underſtand the duty, bonds and inconveniencies of Marriage, that to ſome it proves rather a ſnare than a Bleſſing.

Not only the Quality, Eſtate, Age and other ſuch qualifications ought to be lookt upon, but alſo the perſonal worth and temper muſt be taken into conſideration; one who is pious and vertuous, will know and practiſe her duty towards her Husband, not ſpend her Portion within Four or Five years in Dicing, Carding, Cloaths, Equipage and the like, ſhe will love honor and care for, and not inſult over him, therefore it is better not to have her ſo Noble if ſhe be leſs proud, not ſo rich if ſhe be leſs expenſive, not ſo young and beautiful, if ſhe be prudent and vertuous, though indeed the proportion of Ages is much to be minded, and though hereupon young Gentlemen muſt be adviſed by their Friends, yet Parents ought to have the wiſdom not to force, as it were, a Wife upon their Sons, nor a Husband upon their Daughters, out of ſome particular ends and intereſts, whereby ſlightings, hatred and diviſions are often cauſed in Families. Indeed where one takes a Wife it is for himſelf, therefore his liking of her is a neceſſary condition. Now to the end that Sons be able to receive and follow the Counſel of their Parents, in a buſineſs of ſo great a concernment to their content, peace and happineſs, as Marriage is to them, which is not an affair of one day, but for life, and till one of the two dyes, they are to avoid running into engagements of that kind, and what motions about this are made to them, they ought to impart to

their

their Friends, which if every young Noble-man and Gentleman would do, there would not be ſo many trepaned into it, whereby they forfeit their Parents favor, and are deprived of their Bleſſing and of God's, hence many of thoſe who are driven into it are left in the lurch, and deprived of a ſubſiſtance fit for their quality, and though there was no other conſideration but that of their intereſt, to bring them to obedience to their Parents Will, namely that when they Marry with their conſent, an Eſtate is ſetled upon them, which being done they are at a certainty and do ſtand upon their own legs, this ſhould prevail with them, elſe they ſtand at the mercy of a Father ſlighted and provoked. On the other ſide, it will be prudence in Parents, not violently to croſs the deſigns for Marriage which their Children may have when there is a proportion between the Eſtate, Quality, *&c.* in the party, unleſs there were ſome weighty and important reaſon to the contrary.

Certainly in point of Marriage one muſt be very cautious, a good or a bad Wife can ſometimes raiſe or cauſe the fall of a Family. It is of Women as of the Figs ſpoken of by the Prophet; ſome were good very good, others bad very bad, Jerem. 24. 3. and of ſome of them may be ſpoken what is ſaid of *Origen*, *Quando benè nemo meliùs, quando malè nemo pejùs*, when they do well it cannot be better, when they do ill it cannot be worſe, and may be the *Romans* intended to ſhew this when they called Vertues and Vices by the name of Women, or in the Feminine Gender, as *Fortitudo*, *temperantia*, *juſtitia*, *prudentia*, and *Luxuria*, *ſuperbia*, *vindicta*,

indicta, *ambitio*, &c. to this I ſhall add that as ſin and miſery came into the World by a Woman, ſo the deſtroyer of ſin and the Author of eternal Life and happineſs was pleaſed to be born of a Woman, this I ſay to the end that what I ſpeak here of ſome may not be attributed to the whole Sex.

And ſeeing I am now upon this matter, becauſe fidelity is a mutual bond and promiſe in the preſence of God, I muſt put thoſe who are come to that Eſtate, in mind of the performance of their engagement, for beſides the Laws of God againſt the breach of it, which every Chriſtian ought to obſerve there are ſeveral humane Laws enacted againſt it, not only amongſt the *Romans*, but alſo amongſt the Greeks, as *Polybius* relates concerning the laſt puniſhing it with death, and amongſt the *Jews* by the Law of God they were ſtoned, and now in *Swizzerland* they are Beheaded, as within theſe few years it was executed upon a Married Woman of St. *Gal*, and though theſe ſeveral Laws have done it upon different accounts, yet moſt of humane Laws come to this, that it doth introduce confuſion into Families, in bringing the blood of ſtrangers to Inherit of that which is not juſtly their own, beſides that then are lamentable examples of Gods Judgments upon thoſe who have broken the Conjugal Bond, this was *David*'s ſin, and every one knows of the puniſhment in his Family and upon his People, what he had done in ſecret his Son did in publick with his Fathers Concubines, and an Adultery was followed with an Inceſt of *Ammon* with his Siſter, and *Abſolom*'s Murthering of *Ammon* was for *Uriah*'s, then *Abſolom* ſetting himſelf

ſelf upon the Throne was followed with his death, ſince which time *David* never enjoyed himſelf, and the Sword departed not from his Family, as *Adonijah* had experience of, puniſhment is tyed to the tail of ſin, *culpam pœna premit comes*, and *ſequitur pravos ultor à tergo deus*, they who will not be careful of this, out of love to Vertue, will do well to mind it out of fear of puniſhment. *Hor. l. 4. Od. 2.*

Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore.
Oderunt peccare mali formidine pœnæ.

The Fable tells us, how the Gods could not put together pleaſure and ſorrow, that is ſin and puniſhment as they intended, but ſet one at the heels of another, wherefore one ſaith,

Ah miſer etſi quis primo perjuria celat,
Sera tamen tacitis pœna venit pedibus. Propert.

One being Married, he ought to regulate things at home, before he doth look abroad, and thus being the head of a Family, he ought to behave himſelf well towards all his Relations in't. And that he may be ſucceſsful therein, he ought to take care to ſee God ſerved in his Houſe, ſettle Family duties in it, and ſo to order his Converſation, that to others it may be an example of Piety, and tend to Edification. The Houſe of *Obed Edom* was bleſſed, becauſe in it he had received the Ark of God, a great encouragement indeed to all thoſe who will fear God, love and ſerve him, and keep his Commandments, and as he

he hath been, or I ſuppoſe him to have been, nice and cautious in the choice of a Wife, he ought to be careful what Servants he takes, that they be honeſt and faithful, fearing God and careful to do their work. It is known how for *Jacob*'s ſake God bleſſed the Houſe of *Laban*. Every Maſter of Family ſhould obſerve the rule which King *David* ſets down, ſaying, he will ſuffer in his houſe no froward or wicked men, nor ſlanderers, proud, deceivers or lyars; *the faithful and he that walks in a perfect way*, ſaith he, *ſhall ſerve me.*

Pſalm 101.

This being regulated, the Husband ought to know how to carry himſelf towards his Wife. The Husband indeed is the Head of his Wife, for the Woman was made for Man, but he ſhould not be a Tyrant over her, for St. *Paul* exhorteth them to love their Wives, and not be bitter againſt them, one obſerves very well that *Eve* was not taken from the head or feet of *Adam*, to ſhew that ſhe ought not to domineer over him, nor be domineered upon or trampled under feet by him, but ſhe was taken out of his ſide to ſignifie ſhe is to lay near to his heart, for this cauſe, ſaith our Saviour, a Husband leaves Father and other Relations to be joyned to his Wife, and ſhe to him. The love and confidence which muſt be between them, is a ſtrict bond to unite them in one mind, heart and deſire, complying with the weakneſſes and infirmities one of another, and performing all other duties which Scripture and Divines preſs upon thoſe who are thus united, which it is not of my intent to inſiſt upon.

Col. 3. 19.

Only

Only I ſay a man muſt be reaſonable, not ſevere nor froward, not apt to take exceptions upon every triffle, for ſome are very skitiſh, and miſinterpret every thing whereby they torment themſelves and others. If out of civility their Wife hath returned a Salutation to a Man, a thouſand chimerical fancies come into their head, as if a Woman ought to ceaſe being civil becauſe ſhe is Married: or if at other times a Wife doth not preſently ſhew them the kindneſs they expect, they will immediately ſuſpect it is reſerved for ſome others, not conſidering that one cannot alwayes be in the ſame frame and diſpoſition by reaſon of ſeveral accidents. In a word, a Husband ought to avoid falling into the rage and folly called jealouſie, upon which account the Law of *Moſes* allowed Husbands a greater Power than they have according to that of Chriſt, for upon ſuſpition they brought their Wives to a Tryal before the High Prieſt in *Numb.* 5. a ſevere manner, yet with this advantage, that if they were innocent, the Water they were made to drink, made them conceive Seed. Then upon any trivial account they gave them the Bill of Divorce, which as our Saviour ſaith, was becauſe of the hardneſs of their hearts.

When God hath given a Man Children, he ought to ſee them brought up and inſtructed in the fear of God, providing for them not only for the preſent, but alſo for time to come, for, ſaith Scripture, Children doth not lay up for Parents, but Parents for Children, and he who hath not this care, ſaith St. *Paul*, hath denyed the Faith, and is worſe than an Infidel: They muſt withall take care

care to inform their judgment, and teach them true morality, thereby, if poſſible, to hinder the growth of their paſſions, and to forewarn and ſtrengthen them againſt thoſe dangers which once or many times in their life they may happen to be expoſed unto, and this may be done indifferently in any condition, for men having the ſame defects in every Eſtate, they muſt uſe almoſt the ſame remedies, of which few are ſo particular in one condition, as to be abſolutely unneceſſary and unprofitable in another, they ought farther to be inſtructed in their general duties as men, and in the particular ones as they are ſo and ſo, and in ſuch a Relation.

Furthermore, Fathers in many things ought to condeſcend to the defects, ignorance and want of capacity of their Children, knowing they have been ſo themſelves, and ſubject to like imperfections, neither is it to be expected in thoſe younger years they ſhould have the knowledge and experience which cannot be acquired but within a long time: therefore upon all occaſions let them uſe that Fatherly prudence which is ſo neceſſary, ſucceſsfully to bring up Children, and according to the advice of the Apoſtle, *Fathers, provoke not your Children to anger, leaſt they be diſcouraged.*

Coloſ. 3. 21. *Eph.* 6. 4.

When a Man's Children are once rational and diſcreet, it is well not to ſtand with them at too great a diſtance, but rather to grow familiar with them (for if any wayes they are well bred, and have in them any thing of a good nature, they will not recede from the reſpect they owe their Parents.) I think it more decent and becoming to

to diſcourſe and reaſon, than to play and triffle with them: and ſeeing Parents do enter into their ſports and talkings as ſoon as they begin to walk and to ſpeak, which is properly an act of the ſenſitive Soul, when the rational begins to work in them, and they become men, it is unjuſt to deny them the continuation of a Familiarity which from their Infancy they are poſſeſſed of; behold the effects of the frowning looks and ſeverity of Parents, thorough many cares very forwardly taken, they had gotten their Childrens affections, whereof the uſe and benefit are loſt thorow a falſe policy of reſpect, with keeping them under and in too great a ſubjection.

Upon this Subject I cannot forbear to add, how dangerous it is for Parents who have ſufficient Means, to be too good Husbands of their Purſes in relation to their Children, for when things neceſſary, fit and convenient are denyed them, this makes them become vile, ſordid and contemptible, and hinders their Fortune and raiſing, inſtead of becoming Citizens of the World, this reduces them to their Chimney Corner, and very often it happens, that becauſe they never had any thing to ſpend and to husband, they are wholly uncapable of Oeconomy, in their plenty they are Prodigal, becauſe in the time of their wants they had no occaſion to learn how to ſpend well and lay out Moneys they ſtretch too far, having been kept too ſhort.

Union between Parents and Children, will commonly work the ſame in Families between Children themſelves, which will prove a great bleſſing, for too often there are diviſions between Brethren and Siſters, whereof three cauſes may be given

given, first the inward corruption of men, which from Parents is derived upon Children, in Marriage is often a discordancy and contrariety of humors and tempers which passeth into Children begotten by such Marriages. The Second is, the inequality of affection shewed by Parents, which in Children breeds envyings, jealousies and discontents, though it is a thing not to be blamed in a Father, when he finds a Son more obedient and dutiful than the rest, to have more love and kindness for such a one. Thirdly, the inequal divisions of the Estate causeth divisions and hot burnings, yet Children ought to consider of and submit to the Laws and general customs of the Land, which without good causes a particular man is not to break, and though this makes some to suffer, yet an universal good, namely the preservation of Families ought to be preferred, which consideration must cement union amongst Brethren, who should be as the fingers, one single motion doth shut them, and one motion doth open them.

Colos. 4. 1. They who have Servants must be just to them, and pay them their Wages, wherein God commanded the *Jews* to be very exact when he saith, *Levit.* 19. 13. *The wages of him that is hired shall not remain with thee till Morning*, it is very just to pay those who do serve us, which not to do is a crying sin: *For*, saith St. *James*, *James* 5. 4. *the hire of the Labourers, which is of you kept back by fraud, cryeth, and is entered into the eares of the Lord.* Some Masters are indeed so unjust, as not only not to pay them, but turn them

them out with blows and wounds, a thing ſo contrary to reaſon, and ſo far from being allowed by Scriptures, that St. *Paul* exhorteth them to forbear threatnings, knowing, ſaith he, that we all have a Maſter in Heaven, who is no accepter of Perſons, though I believe this excludeth not a gentle correction uſed againſt young Servants, when it is out of love to them after the commiſſion of ſome fault, and that there is ground to hope they will be the better for it, or elſe 'tis better to turn them away, than to beat them every day. *Epheſ. 6. 9.*

Certainly the power of a Maſter of Family is very great and deſpotick, as Arbitrary (Life and Death excepted) as any Monarch hath over his Kingdom, and indeed ſuch an Authority was ſetled long before there was any Monarchy, there being much in it of the right of nature, and it is the model upon which the other was taken, for as Monarchy and Republicks are the Government of many Families, and of things common to them with a Supream power, ſo Family comprehends a right Government of ſeveral Perſons under the Authority of a Maſter of Family in things which are his own, which is more than hath the head of a Nation (except *Turky* and few other places) who hath the Government of that which belongeth to others. In Families are commanding and obeying, and when this is well obſerved, certainly the whole body of the State is the better for it: Now 'tis one of the greateſt advantages a Nation can

Antiently amongſt the *Romans* they had power of Life and Death over Children and Servants.

can enjoy, to have her own right and propriety maintained. Furthermore, in moſt States when Laws are to be made, the prime alone doth act, but a *Co-adjutive* or an helping power is joyned to it, either to make them or at leaſt to approve, confirm and give them the form and power of a Law, for if you except the Authority gotten by way of conqueſt, people ever hath choſen ſome Truſtees of their priviledges and Liberties under ſeveral names according to the Countries. *Romans* called them *Tribuns* who ſtood for the Liberties of the People, where was any probability of a real breach, though ſometimes more out of a wrangling humour and for their own ends, than for any thing elſe; in *Germany* and ſome of their neighboring Countries they are called *Diets*, in other places *States General*, *Parliaments*, &c.

But no ſuch thing is obſerved in the orders which a Maſter of a Family ſettles in his Houſe, this being paſſed into a common Proverb, *Every one is Maſter at home*, or in his own Houſe, in which right Magiſtrates are concerned to maintain them, as they expect obedience from thoſe that are under their juriſdiction: theſe Priviledges Heads of Families were maintained in by the beſt Laws that ever were, I mean thoſe of the Jews which they received by the miniſtery of *Moſes*, who challenges all Nations to ſhew whether ever they had the like, for goodneſs, juſtice and wiſdom. In ſeveral places of the five Books of *Moſes* one can find aſſerted what now I am ſaying of the Power of Maſters of Families, conſidered as Husbands, Fathers, and Maſters, having an Authority given them over the Goods, Liberties, Perſons, and in ſeveral caſes of Life and Death of thoſe

who

who were ſubject to their rule and government; as we ſee in the caſe of *Tamar*, by *Judah* condemned to be burnt: It is true, that in thoſe days, which were before the Law, every Head of Family was anſwerable for his actions to God alone, as were *Lot*, *Abraham*, and other Patriarchs, who not only were Fathers, but alſo Princes of their Families: whence it is that their Wives did not call them Husbands, but Lords, as did *Sarah*; and Children very ſeldom called them Fathers, but Lords alſo: and that they had the authority of a Magiſtrate even to exact Oaths from their Servants, it appears by the example of him whom *Abraham* ſent to find a Wife for his Son; and very long after in the days of *Jeremiah* and others, the Heads of Families are uſually called Princes, which ſhews how conſiderable a dignity this was, Wives being to ſubmit themſelves to their own Huſbands, Children to obey their Parents in all things, and Servants to their Maſters (yet meaned of things juſt and according to reaſon) even with fear and trembling, and in ſingleneſs of heart.

Gen. 38. 24.

Gen. 24. 3.

Coloſ. 3. *Eph.* 6. 5.

God ſo expreſly charging all thoſe who are under Maſters of Families to obey them, theſe Maſters ought to remember their duty to God, and to thoſe who are committed to their care, as I ſaid before, whereunto I will add a humane conſideration: Good orders are to be kept in a Family, becauſe Children follow good or bad examples; though faults be perſonal, yet ſome are entailed upon Families, ſome ſtains ſtick to the

blood, which running from the veins of the Parents into thoſe of the Children, it is ſuppoſed theſe are given to the vices of the others, the Proverb being, *Such the Parents, ſuch the Children*; and though it be not always ſo, yet many will not run the hazard of it, except they have ſure proofs of the contrary. Thus the vices of Fathers or Mothers do often ſpoil the marriage and fortune of Sons and Daughters.

One word more to this matter, and then I have done with it. Some are much againſt a young Gentlemans marrying aſſoon, or a little after he is come home; but every one ought to know his affairs, and then he may be free therein: I ſuppoſe none will diſpute about the lawfulneſs of Marriage, it being an Inſtitution of God immediately after the Creation, commanded and commended in Scriptures, ſanctified with our Saviours preſence, and the firſt Miracle he did after his Incarnation; it is a remedy againſt incontinency, a help to mutual Society, and appointed for the procreation of Mankind, and Seed to the Church; ſo that 'tis not the lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs, but the conveniency or inconveniency of it, to be ſpoken of.

Indeed there are many weighty reaſons to diſſwade a Gentleman from Marrying, it is a Roſe amidſt many Thornes: Frowardneſs, jealouſie, and ſeveral accidents, turn often the ſweetneſs of this eſtate into gall and bitterneſs, and may be 'twas a Married man the Poet ſpoke to, when he ſaith,

Verin. *Gaudia plus aloes quàm tua mellis habent.*

One Marries a Wife becauſe ſhe is handſom, and the Small Pox or ſome other diſtemper makes a ſtrange

ſtrange alteration upon her Face. Another is Married becauſe ſhe is rich; ſutes in Law and other miſchances impoveriſh her, ſo that one is much diſappointed: This and other things cauſe miſunderſtandings between Husband and Wife, and as the cauſes of his Love, which for the moſt part are tranſitory, as riches, beauty, honour, ſo the effect doth ceaſe, and often is turned into a contrary. Indeed when a man is thus tyed, he is diſenabled ſometimes to raiſe his fortune, and othertimes muſt ſtretch very hard to ſupply the wants of a numerous Family, ſo that unleſs a man hath competent means to keep himſelf and a Wife, it is imprudence to Marry, and a ſure running into trouble. 'Tis not well for one to get a Wife, as it were, to ſtarve her, neither is it a ſign of true love, to undo one, only to have his deſire of her, and it is a great hazzard if love doth not grow very cold, when the back and the ſtomach are not warm, whereby ſome are driven into evil courſes. Hereupon let every one know his own ſtrength, and if he hath a mind to go on, let him prepare for many cares, which one way or other domeſtick affairs will bring upon him, and keep him from his Books and other employments.

But that which is not fit for one, may be proper and neceſſary for another, for all men in this World are not alike, ſome find a pleaſure where others light only upon pain, and there is ſuch a variety of contrary accidents from the good or bad Wife, obedience or undutifulneſs of Children, and other things depending upon Matriage, that *M. Aurelius* a worthy Emperor, being often deſired to find a match for his Daughter,

His Wife *Fauſtina* was very diſſolute.

anſwered, *Trouble me not, for if the whole wit of all wiſe men was joyned together, it would not be ſufficient to give a good council in point of Marriage*, therefore it will be well for every one to take advice of his Friends, then to ſit down, caſt his Accounts, and examine whether or not it be convenient for him to Marry. I conceive it to be a great happineſs when there is a real and entire love between Husband and Wife, which makes all burthens eaſier, croſſes leſs troubleſom, and ſweetneth all bitterneſs. But I muſt proceed to other things.

I ſuppoſe none will expect that I ſhould here treat of good Husbandry, and give directions how a Gentleman might improve his Eſtate: Indeed ſomething in general might be ſaid to this purpoſe, of which the beſt adviſe is for frugality, which keepeth men from unneceſſary expences, and teaches to lay up as much as can handſomly be done without ſordid penuriouſneſs, but 'tis hard to give any particular rules which may be uſeful to ſeveral men, there is no doubt but it doth conſiſt in the well ordering and diſpoſing of ones affairs, but there are ſo many circumſtances to alter the caſe, that nothing in general can be ſaid poſitively to be made uſe of by every particular man, much is depending upon the ſituation of the Country, the nature of the ſoyl and the things wherein the incoms do conſiſt, whether in Corn Fields, Incloſures, Paſtures, Woods, *&c.* which in ſome places do bring in ready Moneys, when in others they cannot ſell. The ſending of theſe to a good Market, laying hold of opportunities, and being otherwiſe induſtrious, are right wayes for one

one to improve his Eſtate; but of this much can be ſaid by Tenants, Farmers, and others who are upon the places: without theſe conſiderations a man cannot ſpeak of this to the purpoſe, nor upon good grounds, therefore they who are concerned ought to ſtudy this and make it their buſineſs, for few years practice will teach more of it in a particular man's caſe, than all Theory and ſpeculation in the World.

When a Gentleman is thus ſetled at home, he muſt endeavor to get the love of the Country, which to ſucceed in, proves ſometimes difficult by reaſon of the different tempers of people, wherefore I would adviſe him to uſe none but lawful means to obtain it, in ſome things 'tis well to comply with ſome, and herein a Traveller is beſt able to behave himſelf, having been uſed in Forreign Parts to converſe with all ſorts of men, and comply with their ſeveral humors, yet he ought to forbear a ſinful complyance, ſo as to offend God, or wrong his credit, eſtate and health by too much drinking or following other evil courſes. A way to obtain the love of his Neighbors is, firſt to live amongſt them, for elſe they will think he careth not for the Country, then according to his Eſtate he muſt keep a good Houſe, bid welcome and make much of thoſe who come to ſee him, being civil to all in general, yet to every one according to his merit and quality; he muſt avoid giving any juſt grounds of offence to any one, and as much as his occaſions require, employ poor people about him, whom and all thoſe who are under his pay, he ought to be juſt to, not hard to his Tenants, and charitable to the poor,

When there hapneth ſome miſunderſtanding between any of his neighbors, it will be well if he uſes his endeavors to make peace, yet not meddle too much in the affairs of others, for fear of being accounted a buſie body, for in ſome things a man hath never no thanks for medling with other mens buſineſſes, without being deſired to do it, but when he is, he may aſſiſt them with his advice and credit according to their occaſions: yet let him take heed how he is bound for his Friends, becauſe many a Family in *England* is the worſe for ſo doing, and I believe lending of Money a better way, there being not ſo much danger, for when it comes to the worſt, all the hazzard one runs, is to looſe that which is lent; but he who is bound for another doth not come off ſo eaſily. Several other occaſions there are to get the affection and reſpect of the Country, which to make a right uſe of, depends much on the prudence of a Gentlemen, and upon accidents: Only I will in general adviſe him to do all his neighbors all manner of good Offices, without wronging himſelf or his own, for I ſuppoſe no rational man will require it of him. In ſo doing, he will be loved, reſpected, and cryed up by Superiors, equals and inferiors, and he is ſure of an intereſt in the Country, to make uſe of upon occaſion.

Beware of that itching deſire which ſome are taken with to go to Law, it were ſometimes better to ſuffer ſome wrong, than preſently to come to a Tryal: Sutes are chargeable, attended with troubles and vexation of mind, and the ſucceſs very uncertain, ſo that many are undone by it, and very few but Lawyers are the better for it.

What

What ready Moneys one hath, muſt be laid out in hopes of a thing which perhaps he ſhall never have. They who are given to this are ſo ſtrange, that to ſee them talk of their affairs with every one they meet with, to make mouths and faces, mutter to themſelves, to looſe their meat, drink, and reſt, for ſo much thinking upon their Law buſineſs (for their mind hardly runs upon any thing elſe) one would think they are poſſeſſed and run diſtracted? What ſubmiſſions muſt one make to Lawyers, even to the leaſt of their Clarks, and after all this, in danger to be caſt. 'Tis ſaid that he who goeth to Law, muſt have four bags, one full of a good cauſe, the ſecond of favor, the third of Moneys, and the fourth of Patience, which things meet together but very ſeldom. Amongſt one of the parts of a happy man, *Horatius* having ſaid, *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis*, &c. adds—*Forumque vitat*, avoideth going to Law, this humor is ſo odious, that as great a Lawyer as ever was, and a great Emperor *Juſtinian*, appointed puniſhment againſt thoſe who went to Law without lawful cauſe, *Nunc admonendi ſumus—quod temeritas tam agentium quam eorum quibuſcum agitur, modo pecuniariâ pœna, modò juris-jurandi religione, modo infamiæ metu, coercetur:* They who went to Law were to take their Oath that they thought to be in the right, whereof the contrary appearing, they were branded with a note of infamy or fined in Money, as it is uſual in moſt Countries, that he who is judged to be in the wrong, is condemned to damages and all charges. The Lawyers themſelves were alſo to Swear, that the cauſe they

Inſtit. lib. 4. Tit. 16. *de pœna temerè litigantium.*

had undertaken they thought to be juſt. If all this was ſeverely put in Execution, there would not be ſo many cheats and tricks attempted to be put upon men and the Laws, nor ſo many unjuſt goings to Law and Tryals about Trifles.

It is reported how one day two men having found an Oyſter, had a diſpute about it: one ſaid it was his, becauſe he had ſeen it firſt, the other ſaid he had taken it up, and ſo 'twas his by right; whilſt this laſted, Juſtice or the Law went by, both deſired her to decide the caſe, whereupon ſhe called for the Oyſter, opened and ſwallowed it, and gave each of them a ſhell, thus the Parties were ſerved. 'Tis no matter whether or not the thing be true in the Story, but 'tis often too true in point of Law, and 'tis much to the purpoſe, or as *Italians* ſay, *Se non é vero, è ben' trovato*, and it is the caſe of many who love ſo much going to Law, that before the Tryal be ended, the fleſh is eaten, and nothing remains for them but the bare bone to gnaw.

Quarrels alſo as handſomly as may be, muſt be avoided. I confeſs this needs not be much preſſed here in *England*, for let it be ſaid to the praiſe of the *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry (if we except Hectors and others in drink) they are not given to it as are ſome other raſh and haſty Nations, who upon the leaſt thing are ready to cut one anothers throats, but thanks be to God, we do not hear much of ſuch barbarous acts, which is an Infallible ſign of the good and ſweet nature of our Nobility and Gentry, who otherwiſe and upon good accounts dare undauntedly look Death in the face. However the wiſe will avoid not evil only, but alſo the occaſions, as Gaming, Drink-

Drinking and others, and uſually we ſee that evil finds who evil ſeeks, for experience ſheweth us how quarrelſome men, at one time or other, receive blows, wounds, and death alſo, he alſo who forges evil for others, will find evil for himſelf, as that notable example of *Perillus* ſheweth it, for having made the Brazen Bull, ſo much talkt of, to torment others in, and asking his reward of *Phalaris*, was thrown into it.

As one expects obedience from thoſe who are under him, he ought to yield it to thoſe that are above him, therefore ſubmit to Authority and obſerve the Laws of the Land, that under their protection you may lead a quiet and a peaceable life; there is a dependency of one upon another, which God and the right of Nations have inſtituted, ſo that 'tis no ſmall crime to be diſobedient to Divine and Humane Laws, neither doth it go unpuniſhed, it is not for private men to gainſay publick Authority, and though in things contrary to the will of God, one is not to yield an active obedience, which not to do is far from being Rebellion, for he is Loyal to the Supream power of all, when he doth what he commands, and avoids what he forbids, when inferior powers withdraw from their allegiance to the Superiors, as when an ordinary Magiſtrate Rebelleth againſt his Prince, a Subject is not to obey him who hath forfeited the Authority derived to him from his King, for he makes uſe of it contrary to its end, but particular men muſt not queſtion the commands of Magiſtrates, except they be contrary to God's Laws, then no Active but a Paſſive obedience is to be yielded by particular men.

To

To lead a private and a quiet life, one muſt, as much as he can, endeavour, *in a ſound body to preſerve a ſound mind*, that is, a ſoul free from error and vice in a healthful body: indeed health ought to be minded, becauſe our life doth often depend upon it, and without health, no pleaſure in the enjoyment of any thing here upon earth, when a Fit of the Gout or Stone is upon a man, he would part with any thing to be eaſed of his pains. As Death is the deſtroyer of Life, ſo we are deprived of our health thorough Sickneſs and Diſtemper, which as much as in a man lay, ought to be prevented or cured. Moſt Sickneſſes come either from cold, for as heat is the Principle of Life, ſo cold is the cauſe of death, according to that known Maxim, *Calore vivimus & frigore morimur*, the loſs of natural heat is followed with death. This cold is contracted either for want of ſufficient warm Cloaths, or exerciſe againſt the injury of Weather, or for want of keeping himſelf warm after a man hath overheated himſelf, which both may eaſily be remedied unto, by the means ot good Fires and warm Cloaths and Exerciſe, which two laſt I think to be better than the firſt, becauſe heat gotten thereby, is more natural, univerſal, and more laſting, than that we receive from the former: On the other ſide, a man is in danger, when he is not careful of himſelf after a violent exerciſe, for then the pores of the body being open, do eaſily receive cold into it.

Sickneſſes are alſo cauſed by troubles of mind, for when the Soul is diſquieted and perplexed, the body by degrees is waſted and pines away, for it cannot be well when the other lyes under vexa-

vexations or diſcontents, mirth is a remedy for this when it may be admitted. Intemperance alſo is the cauſe of Diſeaſes, when there is any exceſs committed in eating or drinking, whence follow Surfets, or when a man overworks himſelf, acting beyond his ſtrength, all theſe are helped with weakneſs of conſtitution, which implies a great diſpoſition to Diſtempers, all theſe things one is to know and mind, who deſires to lead a quiet and contented life.

Before I paſs upon the diſcourſe of the ſound mind, I have ſome things more to obſerve, conducing to the private life I am now ſpeaking of, as firſt the Gentleman is to chuſe a fit place for him to make his abode in, wherein he is to conſider his concerns or the ſtate of his affairs, and the ſatisfaction of his mind, ſome are for the Country, and others for the City. Then Secondly whatſoever place he is ſettled in, it will be his wiſdom and happineſs to make a judicious choice of ſuch a Company as is fit and convenient for him.

When I ſpeak of chuſing a place, I ſuppoſe the Gentleman to be at liberty, ſo to do without any prejudice to his concerns, for elſe theſe muſt rule his reſolutions, but if he be free to chooſe living in his own Houſe in the Country, in ſome Country Town, or in the City, he is to conſult with himſelf to his own temper and inclination, the particular manner of life and other ends he propoſes to himſelf, and then determine for the place he thinks will be moſt ſubſervient to his intents, and in caſe the City could ſuit with the former conſiderations, I think it to be the beſt place if he be a Perſon paſt danger of being inticed

inticed and drawn into bad Company, for there he will find the beſt and the worſt of all things in the Nation, upon one account or other.

Here he will better be able to provide for himſelf, the ſecond thing we ſaid before, as neceſſary and fit for him namely Company, in the Country he alwayes ſees the ſame, and can hardly avoid it, whether or not it be troubleſome and inconvenient for him, when his neighbors have been to ſee him, he is engaged to return them their viſits, or elſe there is danger of diſcontents and Quarrels, and ſometimes the many viſits of his neighbors will put him to inconveniencies and unneceſſary charges. But in the City he hath choice and variety of Companies, he may frequent or avoid what Company he pleaſes, till he finds inconveniencies by it, then he is free to withdraw, neither are his actions and carriage ſo ſtrictly obſerved or ſeverely cenſured, upon which account no doubt he may enjoy more liberty, which is a thing much contributing to the contentedneſs of the mind: In the City, if he pleaſes, he may ſee ſome People but once or twice a month, when in the Country it is almoſt every day, and when men are ſo often together, occaſions of diſtaſt, diſlikings and falling out are more frequent, ſpecially when intereſt and concerns happen to be mixed therein: Beſides that humane mind is apt to be weary of alwayes ſeeing and enjoying the ſame things, therefore is glad of a change, either upon cauſe, or out of the Principle of inconſtancy which moſt men in the world are ſubject to.

As I ſaid before, one is to ſtrive in a healthful body, to have a ſound mind, without which no

quietneſs

quietneſs nor happineſs, and this will be made to appear in ſeveral branches and particulars of many things to be avoided and others followed, which I will deliver not as my own particular opinion, but as that of many ancient Famous men of ſeveral Nations and Profeſſions, whoſe Teſtimonies I will produce.

As in the beginning of the Creation there was a *Chaos*, out of which God brought things into that excellent order we now ſee them in, which is admirable as to times, ſeaſons, *&c.* So after ſin there hath been and is ſtill a diſorder in intelligent Creatures amongſt themſelves and in themſelves, for 'tis not poſſible to find two perſons who in mind and inclination do agree always and in every thing, neither goes over any day wherein a man who reflects on his carriage, hath not one thing or other to be diſpleaſed for with himſelf, either he hath not done enough in ſuch a buſineſs, or hath done too much, or hath not taken the right way, but in the next world that diſorder will ceaſe, and that diſagreement be taken away.

In the mean time it is certain that moſt diſorders in the World ariſe from the unrulineſs of our paſſions, and when men are wanting to their duty, it is becauſe paſſions have uſurped the place of reaſon, whence no good but rather all manner of evil is to be expected. It is a ſaying of *Auſonius*, *Qui rectè facit non qui dominatur erit Rex*, one of the beſt things a man can do, is to bring again things into that order which at firſt God ſetled them in, he is a King indeed who overrules his inordinate affections, and he who hath a mind to ſubdue others, muſt begin with Maſtering

ing of himſelf, otherwiſe a man will lamentably be rented into pieces, hence come troubles and vexation of mind, ſo common amongſt men, that it made *Seneca* ſay——*Novit paucos ſecura quies*, few know what true quietneſs is. Neither was he ſingular in his opinion, for *Virgil* ſaith,

Quiſque ſuos patimur manes, ſua quemque remordet Cura——

When there is a remedy to things we are vexed at, let us apply it, otherwiſe why ſhould we troubly our ſelves in vain; diſorders in Families, decay in Eſtates do often excite a man to do unlawful and unjuſt things, whereby ones condition groweth worſe and worſe, *Omnia tanquam mortales timetis, omnia tanquam immortales concupiſcitis*, you fear every thing becauſe you are mortal, and you deſire all things as if you were immortal, this is not the way to find the reſt, which ſome do ſo earneſtly deſire: This the ſame *Seneca* ſaith, *Potentiſſimis & in altum ſublatis hominibus excidere voces videbis quibus otium optent*, ſometimes men ſitting in the higheſt places, cannot forbear deſiring of reſt, becauſe they grow weary of the perpetual agitation they are in, yet they would do the contrary if they were in another Station, the reaſon is, becauſe the Spirit of man is ever deſirous of novelties, and theſe deſires are that which with envy doth torment them,

Seneca de brevitate vitæ.

Invidiâ

Invidiâ Siculi non invenêre Tyranni.
Tormentum majus————

for they envy the eſtate of other, which is a great evil and prejudice to themſelves, for they grow lean upon it.

Invidus alterius macreſcit rebus opimis. Hor l. 1. Epiſt. 2.

They cannot ſuffer poor *Naboth* to enjoy his own Vineyard, but cry out,

————*O ſi angulus ille*
Parvulus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum.

O that that little corner of ground was but joyned to my Field.

Now that which cauſeth the greateſt troubles in mind, and diſturbances in the World, is that hardly any man is ſatisfied with his preſent condition, could men in this maſter their paſſions, and be content with what God hath given them, and the Station he hath placed them in, there would not be ſo many attempts againſt the Authority, Liberty, Life, Honour and Eſtates of others, Peace would increaſe and diſorders ceaſe: but when men will force nature, which is ſatisfied with few things, and invert the order which God hath ſetled in this World, we can look for no good out of it. Horſes would Plough, and Oxen be Sadled and Bridled,

Optat

Hor. l. 1. Epiſt. 14. *Optat Ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus,*
Cui placet alterius, ſua nimirum eſt odio ſors.

when things do not juſt fit our fancy, we care not to turn all upſide down by right or wrong, as if God's Providence ſhould depend upon our will, and not our will upon it, worſe than the Heathen Philoſopher who uſed to pray to his Gods, *to give him that which was for his good, though he asked it not, and not grant him that which to him would prove hurtful, though he had asked it*: others contrary to this, will have their mind to be the rule of all, and do as the Poet I mentioned before, ſaith in another place,

Lib. 1. Epiſt. 10. *Cui non conveniet ſua res ut calceus olim,*
Si pede major erit, ſubvertet, ſi minor, uret.

and elſewhere he enlargeth much upon this ſubject, and admires how it is that all ſhould be diſſatisfied with the condition they have been called to by their own choice, or by a particular providence, when he ſaith,

Lib. 1. Sat. 1. *Quî ſit Mecenas, ut nemo quam ſibi ſortem*
Seu ratio dederit, ſeu ſors objecerit, illâ
Contentus vivat———

O happy are Merchants, ſaith the old craſie Souldier? how good is it, ſaith the Merchant (when his Ship is toſſed with Waves and Wind) to be a Souldier, for in an hours time comes either death or Victory. The Lawyer thinks the Plough-man more happy than himſelf, as he who lives in the Country

Country, prefers thoſe who dwell in Cities, &c. when all theſe ſeveral profeſſions are neceſſary in the World, and Soldiers, Merchants, Lawyers and others have their wayes and manner of life, the whole learning of Philoſophers could not give us the true reaſon of all this ſtrange variety of humours, for Scripture alone and true Religion teach it to us, namely that in this world no true felicity or contentedneſs are to be lookt for.

A remedy to this diſcontentedneſs would be to be an *Argus*, and all eyes at home and no eyes abroad: if every one medled with his own buſineſs, there would be no occaſion to envy or pitty others: yet *Terentius* is in the right when he ſaith, *ita comparata eſt hominum natura aliena melius ut videant & judicent quàm ſua*: ſuch is the nature of man, that he ſeeth and judgeth better of the affairs of others than of his own, like the eye that ſeeth all other things yet cannot ſee it ſelf. The Emblem of this, is a man carrying upon his back a Wallet full of the faults of others and of his own, thoſe of others he carryeth before and ever looks into, but his own lay behind his back minding them no more than if he were not concerned; but certainly that which he ſo neglects, others look into and by a juſt retaliation, he is uſed by others as he hath uſed them, this makes *Horace* expoſtulate the caſe with ſuch in theſe Verſes,

Cum tua pervideas oculis malè lippus inunctis Lib. 1.
Cur in amicorum vitiis———— Sat. 3.
——*Inquirunt vitia in tua rurſus & illi.*

And *Plato* calls all ſuch Fools and ridiculous, who are ignorant of their affairs, yet will know thoſe of others, *ridiculum eſt eum qui ſua ignorat alia ſcrutari.* Yet it is natural for man to inquire and to deſire to know, as the example of *Adam* can teſtifie. Of old, *Apollo* the God of Sciences was called *Pytheus*, that is inquiſitive, which is a quality eſſential to man, and proper to him at all times in every age, and whatſoever condition he be in, which cannot be ſaid of reaſon, whereof the uſe is many times ſuſpended, ſo that he may better be called an inquiſitive than a rational Creature, except one be willing to call this inquiſitiveneſs an effect of reaſon.

The firſt thing he ought to inquire, is into himſelf, and ſay, as God and nature have made nothing in vain, ſo for what end was I made? I know my Dog is to keep my Houſe, my Horſe to carry me, my Oxen to Plough my Ground, I ought to know alſo for what end I was made; this curioſity is confined within its *Species*, as Plants and vegetables are ſatisfied with their life and envy not ſenſitive, which they are ignorant of, ſo are ſenſitive in relation to rational priviledges, for they know not the excellency of humane nature, nay no man envyeth the Angelical perfection, whereof the excellency doth ſubſiſt in us only in an imaginary form, neither is there a man who in every particular circumſtance, would ceaſe to be the ſame perſon, and become another individual one, for indeed this is contrary to nature, which can never deſire the annihilation either of our individual being, or of our Species, but all theſe Species and individual beings look up towards God as their Author and Maker. Now

to

to know himſelf well, one is to make a diſtinction of his parts Soul and Body, and conſider the excellency of one, the Symmetry and order of the other, with the union of both, and this would be much better and more neceſſary, than for ſome to be ſo buſie, to know and enquire after the affairs of others.

This ſort of People make no difference between Friend and Foe, and furious like they cut on all hands, as it were with a two-edged Sword; the end of Friendſhip ſaith *Socrates*, is, *that two be made one in heart and mind*, for *copulat ſimilia quæque ad invicem arcano naturæ ferantur affectu*, it joyneth things that are alike, and which agree thorough an occult and natural Sympathy, but this buſie bodineſs and gazing upon the defects of others, is death to Friendſhip, nothing diſobliging ſo much as it doth, indeed it were better to be ignorant of the failings of others, than to know and then publiſh them, for though we were ſorry for it, yet this is no remedy to it, becauſe words ſpoken cannot be recalled, *neſcit vox miſſa reverti*, ſaith *Horace*, we rather ought to follow his advice in another place. *Lib. 1. Ep. 17.*

At pater ut gnati ſic nos debemus amici,
Si quod ſit vitium non faſtidire— Lib. 1. Sat. 3.
Hæc res & jungit, junctos & ſervat amicos.

This is the true touchſtone of Charity, Prudence and Friendſhip, and let none flatter himſelf in this, that others will take well ſuch things, and will nevertheleſs love them, for to be ſo, one muſt be qualified for it, as 'tis well obſerved,

Sit procul omne nefas, ut amêris amabilis esto. Ovid.

And is there any thing in the World more destructive to Friendship, and more odious to a Friend, than to be mocked and slighted, the true secret to be loved is to love, and *Seneca* tells nothing but what all the World knoweth, when he saith, *tibi monstrabo amaterium*, &c. I will shew you a secret to be loved, without the help of any remedies, Herbs, or Witchcraft, *Si vis Amari, Ama, Love, if you will be Loved.* Now Love is judged of by actions, and not by intentions, and what can be a greater enemy to it, than too curiously to inquire into the affairs of others to find out their defects, and afterwards publish it, besides that, many a one doth therein find his torment, for they may as well find their neighbor in a good condition as in a bad, which breeds discontentedness of ones own present condition, and envying of that of others.

Hor. lib. 1. Satyr. 1. *Inde fit ut raro quis se vixisse beatum Dicat*———

Hence it is that no body is perfectly satisfied in this World, and will call himself happy in it, therefore it is well for every one to look only to himself and to his own.

If men seeing their own affairs and those of others, would be patient, they could find the advantage of it, *Victrix malorum est patientia*, saith one, it overcomes many difficulties which otherwise are unconquerable. 'Tis the advice of a wise man, *festinare lenté*, to make a slow haste, or haste

and

and good ſpeed, ſoftly and ſafely according to the trivial *Italian* Proverb, *Chi và piano và Sano, chi và Sano và lontano.* We uſe to ſay haſte makes waſte, which anſwers to the ſaying of *Plautus*, *tardiùs abſolvit qui nimiùm properat*, what a rough way cannot do, often a ſmooth will, for

——*Peragit tranquilla poteſtas*
Quod violenta nequit—— Claudianus.

Patience calms great Storms, ſweetneth the bitterneſs of injuries, and after a foul Morning, brings often a fair Afternoon, it makes heavy burthens light to thoſe who uſe it,

Durum ſed levius fit patientia
Quicquid corrigere eſt nefas. Hor. l. 11. Od. 24.

Even in point of offences, and a man who is ſuch, hath the Character given him by *Euripides* of being wiſe. When there is a quarrelling between two, he is the wiſeſt who knoweth beſt how to hold his Peace, of this we have a notable example in *Socrates*, who being reviled and ſadly abuſed by his Wife, ſaid to her, *penes te malè dicere, penes me autem rectè audire*, 'tis in your power to ſpeak ill, but 'tis in mine not to take it ſo; further to confirm what I ſaid, I will bring the Teſtimony of two great men of Antiquity, one is *Pythagoras*, *Magnam peritiam æſtimato quâ ferre potes aliorum imperitiam*, it is a great Prudence in a man, who is able to bear with the imprudence of others; the other, to wit *Seneca*, ſpeaks of it in a higher ſtrain, *Si magnanimus fueris nunquàm judicabis tibi contumeliam fieri; de inimico dices non mihi nocuit,*

ſed nocendi animum habuit, & cum illum in poteſtate videris, vindictam putabis vindicare potuiſſe, ſcito enim magnum & honeſtum vindictæ eſſe genus ignoſcere; ergo feras, non culpes quod mutari non poteſt, dolor enim patientiâ vincetur. If thou art generous thou wilt think no body can offend thee; thou wilt ſay of thy Enemy, he had a mind to do me wrong, but he hath not done it, and when he falls into thy hands thou wilt think thou art avenged, becauſe it is in thy power to be ſo. Know therefore that to forgive is a great and handſom kind of vengeance, ſuffer therefore and blame not that which cannot be otherwiſe, for grief is overcome with Patience. How excellent is this morality, ſince it is ſo ſuitable with the rules of Chriſtianity.

But ſuch is the diſpoſition of worldly things, that as often one is forced to obſerve places and Perſons, ſo there is a neceſſity to condeſcend and ſute himſelf with time, framing his carriage according to occaſions. 'Tis a great Prudence of this neceſſity to make a vertue: But herein I deſire not to be miſtaken, for I do not mean that a Gentleman ſhould have a ſinful complyance, or make himſelf a drudge to ſerve his and others unlawful deſigns, but ſo to order his affairs, as not expoſe himſelf to be undone, one ſhould not alwayes fully ſwim with the ſtream, for fear of being at laſt carryed into a Sea of miſeries, nor againſt the ſtream for fear of being preſently drowned. There is a Prudence as well as Innocency to be uſed, even as we ſee, at Sea when a Pilot ſees the Wind full contrary, he will not undertake directly to Sail againſt it, for he knows it would be in vain, neither doth he run juſt before

fore the Wind, to go whence he came, for thus he could never go to the place he is bound for, but as much as he is able he makes the Wind ſerve his turn, aſide more or leſs according to his Voyage and the nature of the Wind; ſo in reference to time one gives a good advice.

Inviſens hilari tempus te ſuſcipe vultu,
Hoſpitioque fove, fac tibi ſitque lucro. Lampſ.

Indeed it is a beneficial thing to make a right uſe of time, and this is as fit an occaſion for a man to exerciſe his Prudence as any he can light on, yet not in the way of thoſe whom *Seneca* ſpeaks of, *qui operoſè nihil agunt*, they take pains and are upon a perpetual motion, yet are never the better nor the more forward, but one muſt ſo beſtir himſelf, that he may indeed be a gainer by it. It is a great comfort for him whom the Poet ſpeaks of,

——*Ille potens ſui*
Lætuſque deget cui licet in diem
Dixiſſe vixi. Hor. lib. 3. Od. 29.

which cannot be ſaid, except one had done or gotten ſome good thing in it; when the Emperor *Trajan* had been a day without doing good to any one, he uſed to ſay, I loſt a day: Now the reaſon why men ought to Husband well their time, it is, becauſe it ſtayes for no man, paſſeth or rather flyes away, *volat irrevocabile tempus*, ſaith one, and will not be called back, this truth doth not this day begin to be known, for it was ſo of old amongſt thoſe who ſpoke of it, I find two very conſiderable witneſſes, one in Proſe the other in

Verſes. The firſt is *Seneca*, when we make uſe of the preſent day, we leſs depend upon the next, whileſt we uſe delayes our life runs away, nothing is ours but time, and to ſpeak in his language, *Sic fit ut minus ex craſtino pendeas cum hodierno manum injeceris, dum differtur vita tranſcurrit, omnia aliena ſunt, tantùm tempus noſtrum eſt*, and in another place, *ætate fruere mobili curſu fugit*, therefore he adviſes us to be as quick to make uſe of time, as it is ſwift to paſs, and to make haſte to draw out of it, as out of a rapid and ſwift torrent, which is ſoon to be dryed up. His Original words are excellent, *Cum celeritate temporis utendi velocitate certandum eſt, tamquam ex torrente rapido nec ſemper caſuro, citò hauriendum eſt.* Certainly this is an excellent leſſon to be Printed in and practiſed by men, of which he gives this reaſon, *Fluunt omnia & in aſſidua diminutione ſunt corpora noſtra*, there is a flowing of all things, and our bodies are in a continual decay, again, *Rapimur fluminis more, quicquid vides currit cum tempore, fluida eſt materia & caduca & omnibus obnoxia caſibus*, this is an enlargement upon the reſt; there is ſaith he elſewhere, a perpetual circulation of days, nights and ſeaſons, one ſucceeding to another, all things paſs away to return, but none can reſtore thy time, or thy years to thee, *Nemo iterum te tibi reddet*, no man ſhall reſtore thee to thy ſelf. If a man only with the light of nature could ſpeak ſo well of a Chriſtian duty? What had it been if his Philoſophy had been ſeaſoned with Grace and Faith joyned to his learning. But our Saviour ſaith, God hath hidden theſe things from the wiſe and learned. One place more of this great man I will bring to confirm my poſition, namely,

namely, that a Gentleman ought to fit himſelf for time, *Tempori cedere, neceſſitati parere, ſemper ſapientis eſt habitum*, which to do and to yield to neceſſity, hath ever been accounted the part of a wiſe man.

As I am highly ſatisfied with what this Author ſayes to my preſent purpoſe, ſo I am pleaſed with the expreſſions of another to the ſame effect,

A tê tempus abit, fruſtrà remoraberis, imò
Grates, ante tibi quod fuit hoſpes, age. Lampſon.

that is, time goes away from thee, 'tis in vain to attempt to ſtop it, rather give it thanks that it was come to thee. But chiefly I am taken with the following Verſes, and though I love not to be long in Quotations, yet their ſubſtance is ſo good, and according to Scriptures; the expreſſion ſo clear, and the ſtile ſo eaſie, yet plain, that I believe the Reader verſed in the Latin Tongue, will take pleaſure to read them.

Ecce ſumus pulvis, ſumus ecce miſerrima tellus,
Et noſtri fugiunt, ut levis aura, dies.
Solvimur ut nebulæ, ſurgens ut in aera fumus,
Et veluti, ſolvi ſole pruina, ſolet.
Carpimur ut ſtipulæ rapido carpuntur ab igne,
Nil niſi, vivendo, ſomnus & umbra ſumus.
Unde igitur faſtus venit? unde ſuperbia nobis?
Quos fatum, præter tot mala, triſte rapit.

And ſeeing I am now ſpeaking of time, it will be well to make ſome Animadverſions upon this Sentence, *Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis*,

illis, times change and we are changed therewith, which it is neceſſary for a Gentleman to underſtand and to conſider of. In relation to men, nothing is ſo uncertain as time, which depends upon no man, 'tis in the hand of God alone, who diſpoſes of it as it ſeemeth good unto him, who in this variety doth manifeſt his power and wiſdom, hence we ſee ſuch a diverſity and contrariety of events; Scripture ſpeaks of times of vengeance, refreſhing, repentance, Viſitation, *&c.* there is certain times wherein God declares his mind to men, which being paſſed, it returns no more. Time is repreſented like an Old man with a Sithe in his hand, and wings on his back, to ſhew firſt he is drawing towards an end, then that he is a deſtroyer, and by the wings is repreſented his ſwiftneſs. That which contains ſo many and ſo great revolutions, muſt need be ſubject to change, and commonly it is for the worſt, therefore if at the time one lives in, there be occaſions of doing good, he muſt not procraſtinate, for there is more reaſon to fear the worſt, than to hope for the beſt in time to come, Scripture foretelling of many evil dayes towards the latter end. 'Tis a ſaying of *Seneca*, *Hoc majores noſtri queſti ſunt, hoc nos querimur, hoc poſteri noſtri querentur, everſos eſſe mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res humanas & in omne nefas labi.* Our Anceſtors did, we do, and our Succeſſors will complain that good manners are perverted, wickedneſs reigns, and that humane things run to the worſt, and fall into all kinds of iniquity, and we at the ſame time are hurried away with this ſtream, and theſe influences are extended upon our poſterity. For

Damnoſa

Damnoſa quid non imminuit dies
Ætas parentum pejor Avîs tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitioſiorem. Hor. lib. 3. Od. 6.

I confeſs there is a vulgar error, which *Seneca* as I already quoted him, ſpeaks of, and *Hyeronimus* would rectifie when he ſaith, *Ne dicas priora tempora*, &c. do not ſay that former times were better than they are now, vertues make dayes good, and vices evil. And *Cicero* would not have theſe things ſo much as mentioned, attributing it to weakneſs of mind, *Infirmæ terrenæque mentis eſt memorare annos*, are his words: But it is certain that time is ſenſible of the general decay of worldly things, wherein alſo men are involved, which we ought to ſtand againſt as much as we are able.

The reaſon why many are diſappointed in their expectation, and ſee their deſigns ſubject to ſuch revolutions, proceeds from a diſparity between their aimes and ſtrength, they ſhould meaſure their forces, and conſider of the difficulties before they undertake any thing. But indeed there is more temerity than prudence in the World, deſigns are ſooner framed than executed, many being acted with fancy more than with reaſon, build Caſtles in the Air, and it ſeems to them, that to think and to do is but one and the ſame, but in time they may ſee their errors, and though *parturiunt montes, naſcetur ridiculus mus.* He gave a good advice, who ſaid, *Ne quid ultrà vires, conêris*, do not ſtrive to go beyond your ſtrength, he who had not caſt his accounts, began to build, and could

could not go thorough, made himſelf ridiculous; there are thoſe whoſe fancies feed on meer Chimeras, they think themſelves able to beat whole Armies, and as it were to carry the whole World upon their backs, who are ſeen to ſink under the burthen: Let us then ſay with *Euripides*, *Hei quò progreditur humana mens? Quis finis temeritatis & audaciæ*, the mind of men runs ſo far that there is no end of its boldneſs and temerity.

Milo Crotoniates who being in the Field, ſeeing a cleft in a great Oak, did put his hands in to tear it, was taken in it and left a prey to Wolves, and the other who willing to bear a falling Vaut was cruſhed under it, paſs to poſterity for examples of folly; and the Fable of Giants ſcaling up to Heaven and thundered down, ſhew the madneſs of the attempts of ſome; but let us paſs from the Fable to the truth, though ſeveral do not fall upon ſo abſurd deſigns yet many they have, which ſucceed to them as to thoſe who ſpit up, for it falls on their Face. In a word I ſay, that except one hath forfeited common ſenſe and reaſon, he will not undertake things which are exceedingly above his ſtrength, for *vis conſilii expers, mole ruit ſua*, though deſigns very unlikely to ſucceed, have ſometimes had a good event, 'tis not to be drawn into conſequence, ſometimes there are ſuch conjunctures as do favor undertakings. Hence it is that we have ſeen thoſe who were happy in great attempts, miſcarry in others more eaſie, yet he is certainly wiſe, who commits to hazard as little as he can, who takes good advice, and conſults about the beſt wayes, then there is ſome ground to hope for a Bleſſing from Providence, for

Vim

Vim temperatam Dî quoque provehunt
In majus; iidem odêre vires
Omne nefas animo moventes. Horat.

A Heathen can tell that God doth not proſper wicked deſigns, as Scripture tells us God heareth not ſinners, raſh attempts fall of themſelves, therefore

Ardua ne ſubeas ignotæ pondera molis
Ni benè ſint tergi robora menſa tui.

'tis no wonder to ſee raſh, proud and groundleſs undertakings not to proſper, ſeeing thereby men do tempt God, and as much as in them lyes, would have him to favor their folly and impiety, they account nothing too hard for them, but attempt upon Heaven it ſelf, and thus, if I may ſo ſay, do force God to be avenged on them.

———*Neque*
Per noſtrum patimur ſcelus
Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina. Hor. l. 1. Od. 3.

And though often this judgment be not ſuddenly executed, one muſt not ſay that Providence either ſees not or careth not, for though God ſuffers them to go on, and gives them time of repentance, yet *their judgment ſlumbereth not*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, which word judgment hath ſome particular Emphaſis more than that of Juſtice, as when it is ſaid, God ſheweth Judgment and Juſtice, he exerciſes the firſt when he puniſheth the ſins of his Enemies according to what they deſerve,

ſerve, and the ſecond when he rewards every one for what he hath done either good or evil, and according to what he hath promiſed or threatned: Farther, he is ſaid to do mercy when he rewards beyond promiſe, and puniſheth not ſo ſeverely as men deſerve.

Men are apt to miſtake this forbearance of God, like him who one night being aſleep by a Wall, was warned in a Dream to raiſe and remove to another place, which he did, and immediately the Wall fell; the next Morning he offered Sacrifices to his Gods, thinking they delighted in the Murders he uſually committed; but the next night he was told enough to be made to know his error, for he heard the ſame voice of the night before ſay to him, if laſt night I would not ſuffer thee to dye the death thou was in danger of, 'twas not becauſe I would have thee to eſcape, I would keep thee for a more bitter death, for thou ſhalt be Crucified. What this thought of Murthers, another believed of Sacrileges, for having been to Plunder the Temple of *Delphos*, and the wind blowing very fair for him to go home, ſaid, do not you ſee how the Gods favor us in what we have done. This reproof God makes to the wicked, *theſe things* (that is Theft, Adultery, Lying and Slandering) *haſt thou done, and I kept ſilence: thou thoughteſt that I was altogether ſuch a one as thy ſelf, but I will reprove thee and ſet them in order againſt thee.* For *quod differtur non aufertur*, that which is put off is not forgiven.

Pſalm 50.

It would prove a good remedy againſt this vain riving beyond his own ſtrength, groundleſs and nlawful deſigns, if men would give themſelves to

to a particular thing. As every one hath or ought to have a particular aim and employment, he would make it his chief buſineſs and ſpecially apply himſelf to it. Since the taking of *Bajazet* by *Tamberlain*, every *Sultan* who hath ruled the *Turkiſh* Empire, hath learned a Trade, ſome of Watch-makers, others of Jewellers, Gardners, *&c.* in the Exerciſes whereof they take pleaſure amidſt their Peace and Proſperity; the end of this is to be enabled to get a livelyhood in caſe they happen to be thrown down from the Throne as that Emperor was. I would not make Princes or men of great Eſtates to be Trades-men, neither can I wiſh one to be ſo given to one particular thing, as to neglect all the reſt, contrariwiſe I like an Univerſal man who knows a little of every thing, though it were but a ſuperficial knowledge, yet a man's buſineſs muſt be one thing and his pleaſure another, for *cuique ſuum ſtudium*, and *trahit ſua quemque voluptas*, as every one hath his ſtudy and ſerious application, ſo every one hath his pleaſure, this laſt is not material as the former which is to be reduced to a practiſe, this made *Horace* ſay,

Quam ſcit uterq; libens cenſebo exerceat artem.
Lib. 1. Epiſt. 14.

The publick body muſt have members able to do the ſeveral operations it hath uſe for, of which there is a great variety, which thoſe who are to act ought to be fitted for, as we ſee, in all manner of profeſſions, he muſt be a Pilot who undertakes to guide and ſteer a Ship in a Voyage, he who preſcribes a Phyſick, ought to be a piece

piece of a Phyſician, as it is well expreſſed by *Horace.*

Navem agere ignarus navis timet; abrotonum ægro
Non audet niſi qui didicit dare: quod medicorum eſt
Promittunt medici, tractant fabrilia fabri.

One day a Picture-drawer having made a Picture, placed it upon his Shop, and hearkned to hear what every ones opinion was about it, one found ſomething amiſs in a Shoe, which made him ask the man (a Shoe-maker) where the fault lay, whereupon taking his Pencil, he mended it, but the Shoe-maker growing proud upon it, told him there was ſomething amiſs in the Noſe, whereat the other replyed, in that you are out of your way, and therefore not a competent judge, it belongs to Picture-drawers and not to Shoe-makers to judge of that; if the feet would perform the office of the hands, and thoſe that of the head, it would work a ſtrange confuſion, therefore the Proverb ſaith, *Nemo ultrà crepidam*, or elſe inſtead of perfecting things, they will be ſpoiled, as it fell out with a good piece made by an excellent Picture-drawer, who to ſhew how ridiculous People is in judging of things which it doth not underſtand, to pleaſe all, he mended with his Pencil the faults which every one thought to have found in it, which at laſt cauſed ſo monſtrous a change, that the maker taking it up, ſaid, I had made a fair Picture, but the People hath made a Monſter of it: Hence it appears, how abſurd things one would do, if he undertook to pleaſe the fancy of every one.

But

But to return to my Subject, there is a duty incumbent upon every one to do ſomething, for God hath preſcribed for every one a work to do, *Six dayes ſhalt thou labour and do all thy work.* That Fourth Precept not only forbids to work upon the Seventh day, but alſo (which few take notice of) it doth contain a poſitive command to work ſix dayes in the Week. Our Saviour himſelf whom it became to fulfil all righteouſneſs and the Law (O the greateſt humility that can be conceived) did labour with his own hands in the Trade of a Carpenter with *Joſeph*, till the Thirtieth year of his Age. St. *Paul* alſo did the ſame when he made Tents, not to be a burthen to the Churches, and gives it for a rule, that he who will not work ought not to eat, wherefore 'tis not only a duty, but alſo Prudence to learn ſomething to do, not knowing what may happen, Eſtates can be loſt and Families undone, and then when a man knows ſomething, he is provided againſt want and miſery.

Paterna bona tempus interdum facit
Aliena, ſervans interim corpora: Hypparchus.
Unum autem vitæ præſidium in artibus ſitum eſt.

Though there be a certain work appointed to be done by every one, it doth not follow but that one may, yea muſt mind other things, and diverſifie according as there is ground and cauſe for it, neither is he ſo to be tyed to it, as to be deprived of thoſe recreations whereby his tired Spirits or Body ſhould be refreſhed, after which one is better fitted and diſpoſed for his labour, and returns to it with more vigor and chearfulneſs,

amant alterna Camænæ, ſaith *Virgil*, variety pleaſes them, hence it is that wiſe and learned men have ſometimes put off gravity. Wiſe *Socrates* one day took a ſtick and put it between his Legs, walking as did ſome young Boyes in whoſe Company he was, whereat *Alcibiades* fell a laughing. This I do not give for a preſident for any one, for decency is to be obſerved in every thing, but this will ſerve to ſhew, how upon occaſion men may lay aſide their affairs and uſual behaviour, to indulge themſelves in ſome petty pleaſures, for ſaith one, *dulce eſt deſipere in loco*, at certain places and times it is a pleaſure to play the fool. *Brutus* who for a time could conceal ſo much prudence under ſo much folly, is an example of admiration, though not of imitation, for it is as difficult for a Wiſe man to act the part of a Fool, as for a Fool to play the part of a Wiſe man. But when 'tis time, one muſt leave off this pleaſure and folly, if I may ſo ſay,

Miſce ſtultitiam conſiliis brevem. Hor.lib.4.Od.12.

Seneca ſaith, *Virtus poſt multa opera laxari ſolet*, Vertue uſes to take ſome reſt after ſhe hath been hard at work, which is very neceſſary, for nature is the principle of reſt as of motion, and if one would act beyond his ſtrength, his action would tend to his deſtruction, which is contrary to the end of nature, and ought to be ſo in the intent of every agent,

Quod caret alternâ requie, durabile non eſt. Ovid.

It

It is as of other things, it doth not Rain nor Snow perpetually, there are not alwayes Storms at Sea, neither doth Winter laſt for ever.

Non ſemper imbres nubibus hiſpidos, &c. Hor. l. 2. Od. 9.

This makes all wiſe men conſider of the change of all things in the World, and ſo to ſettle their affection upon them, as that upon occaſion they may be weaned therefrom: *None must be called happy before his death*, ſaid a Wiſe man to a rich King, no man knows what the next day will produce, nor what can befall him, ſometimes Princes go on Foot and Beggers on Horſe-back, Riches are not alwayes to the Wiſe, nor the Battel to the Strong, therefore a Prudent man is fited for all changes, and is ſurpriſed with nothing that befalls him. *Solon* to *Cræſus*.

Sperat infeſtis metuit ſecundis
Alteram ſortem benè præparatum
Pectus——————

He who is reſolved upon every event, is quiet, though they happen to be troubleſome, for he was prepared, *minùs prævisa nocebunt*, he knows there is a time for all things, one is not alwayes to weep or to laugh, but ſometimes there is one and then another, *Mars* is not alwayes fighting, he makes Love alſo. Notwithſtanding this uncertainty of things and variety of events, one may reap ſome benefit, for a wiſe man is the better for every thing, there is never an effect of Providence, but *Cato.*

gives us ſome leſſon, proſperity and adverſity, though thorough ſeveral wayes come to one end, to inſtruct and make us the better or the worſe as their effects, according to the good or bad uſe we make of it, as excellent Cordials are often extracted out of dangerous Poyſons, let this Sentence *ex vino ſapienti virtus* be a proof of it, as the Spider draws venom, ſo the Bee extracteth Hony out of every thing, ſo in a Fool Wine cauſes Vice, and Vertue in a wiſe man, it is not the uſe but the abuſe of many things we are forbidden, and though evil things ought to be left as to the uſe, the abuſe only of good and indifferent ones is to be abſtained from, this is the ſence of what St. *Peter* ſaid to our Saviour, *Lord we have left all and followed thee*, with this agrees the Doctrine of St. *Paul*, excluding Drunkards from Heaven, yet adviſing *Timothy* to drink Wine, this becauſe of his weakneſs of ſtomach and often infirmities, and that becauſe they comply with their vitious inclination. When that liquor is taken with exceſs, it over-powers and oppreſſes the Spirits, and deſtroyes the uſe of reaſon, on the contrary when it is moderately uſed, it makes men glad, chears up the heart, ſtrengthens and makes us fit for action; *Diſſipat Evius curas edaces*, and, *Nunc vino pellite curas*, let Wine drive away cares, are words ſpoken by a wiſe and a witty man, though perhaps he was then in a good humour, as when he exhorts his Friend, *Sapiens finire memento, triſtitiam vitæque labores, molli, Plance, mero*, he is ſo much of that mind, that he ſaith this is the beſt way to

Matthew 19.

Hor. l. 2. Od. 11.

Lib. 1. Od. 7.

to remove cares, and thoſe who will not do ſo, ſhall feel ſome inconveniencies——

Siccis omnia nam dura deus propoſuit neque
Mordaces aliter diffugiunt ſollicitudines. Od. 18.

Herein *Seneca* ſeems to joyn with him, when he ſaith, *Bacchum liberum dixerunt, quod animum à ſervitio curarum liberet, Bacchus* or Wine is called *Liber* or free, becauſe he frees the mind of men from trouble and cares. This I relate only to ſhew how good may be the moderate uſe of Wine, and ſo to confirm what I ſaid, that a wiſe man can make a right uſe of every thing, for as to the reſt, I would not adviſe a Gentleman to follow *Horace* too much in this point, his life having in ſome things been diſorderly, for men do not alwayes act according to their knowledge, they ſay but do not, and a good Counſel is ſooner given than taken, as it is eaſie to ſay to one, you do not do well, but often it is hard to do better.

And as to Drunkenneſs, the truth is, every one ought to take heed of a Liquor which doth Imprint the malignity of his juice into the wood that produces it, the Vine Tree is harder than our fleſh, it is dry, knobby and crooked, to ſhew what effects it can work upon our Bodies, then the reeling and ſtaggering of the Body, the ſtammering of the Tongue, the dullneſs, fireneſs or diſtractedneſs of the Eyes, then Rhumes, the Gout, *&c.* are the ſtorms of his vapour. A good rule is, ſo to uſe the things which ſhall not alwayes be in our power, as that we may part with them without any grief or trouble, and whilſt we

we enjoy them, let us abſtain from abuſe or exceſs in the enjoyment of them, when we want them, let us not be too ſollicitous to obtain them, that is in one word, a man muſt not make himſelf a drudge or a ſlave to his Palate or other Sences.

God hath not given us in vain Sences, as Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Taſting, *&c.* neither hath he given in vain ſo many things in nature for their ſatisfaction, he will have us to enjoy thoſe things, but if men thorough exceſs or contempt, do abuſe the ſame, they do an injury to him who offers them, as we ought to abſtain from forbidden things, we alſo muſt uſe moderately thoſe which are allowed, and herein one is to know, that felicity doth not conſiſt in what is called more or leſs, but in the contentedneſs of the mind, provided that faculty and the will be ſatisfied, if in a little Spring there be Water enough to quench our thirſt, it is unneceſſary to take pains to find a greater one, ſeeing that will do no other effect than that which the other can do. Beſides that, we muſt be aſſured, that ſeeing God hath accounted us worthy of his Creation, we are ſo alſo of his conduct and guidance, and he who hath given life which is the chief, will alſo afford Food and Raiment which are the leaſt; his Providence takes care to leſſen the number of men, when it is ſo increaſed that the Fruits of the Earth are hardly ſufficient to make them ſubſiſt; hence it is that Plague, War and Famine, like three great Sluces, are from time to time opened to unburthen the Earth, when nature cannot ſufficiently purge it ſelf thorough the ordinary wayes.

Some

Some are troubled with a vain curioſity about things to come, but I think it is a good leſſon, *de futuris ne ſis anxius*, take no care, ſaith our Saviour, what you ſhall eat or drink to morrow, for the morrow will help it ſelf, God takes care of the Lillies and young Ravens, and no man thoroughout all his cares can add a Cubite to his Stature. They who conſult Stars, cauſe their Nativity to be caſt, and are Sollicitous to know what is to come, do pry into the ſecrets of God, whom ſecret things belong unto, as revealed ones do to men, this is expreſly forbidden in Scriptures, and they who ſeek into it, receive no ſatisfaction thereby, contrariwiſe find in it their own harm, a Heathen Poet could ſay,

——Nec quicquam tibi prodeſt
Aerias tentaſſe domos, animoque rotundum
Percurriſſe polum morituro—— Hor.l.1.Od.28.

The Hiſtory of *Aeſchites* an excellent Writer of Comedies in *Sicily*, is Famous, he having been told he ſhould be killed with the fall of a Houſe, retired into the Field and avoided coming into the Towns, one day as he was writing in the Field, an Eagle having taken up a Tortoiſe, whoſe ſhell is their Houſe, as their way is to break it, let it fall upon his head, which was ſo bald that it lookt like a ſtone, whereat his skull was broken and ſo died, thus did he run into the deſtiny which he thought to run from; as God doth conceal future events, he laughs at the folly of thoſe who do ſearch into it, as is well expreſſed,

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginoſa nocte premit deus
Ridetq; ſi mortalis ultrà fas trepidat. Hor. l. 3. Od. 29

The end is to leave the mind of men in the dark about it, ſo that the timorous may be in hopes as the bold in fear,

——Sit cæca futuri
Mens hominum fati, liceat ſperare timenti.

Wherefore avoid enquiring after things to come, and account a gain whatſoever doth befall thee, whether good or evil, proſperity or adverſity, life or death. Endeavor chiefly to love God, for to ſuch all things work for the beſt, *Quid ſit futurum cras fuge quærere*, not only we muſt not ſeek after it, but in caſe any one would infuſe ſuch a curioſity into you, do not ſuffer it. Yet one is not hence to infer, men ſhould be careleſs of their affairs, and as it were to leave all at ſix and ſeven, contrariwiſe we are commanded to labour for, and lay up that which is neceſſary for the maintainance of our life, wherefore the ſluggard is ſent to learn from the Ant, the Bees and ſuch Creatures which in Summer make proviſion for Winter, but that which is condemned, is when a man is over-ſollicitous of theſe things, and thinks he ſhall never have enough of it, but here is forbidden ſpecially that which is diving into things not belonging to us, or which are forbidden to inquire after, which is a ſign of weakneſs and depravation, even of ſuch a one as only common people is capable of, this often proves the

the cauſe of Fear, Anger, Treachery, and other kinds of wickedneſs, and makes that there is no end of, nor modeſty in our deſires.

——*Nos pravum ac debile vulgus*
Scrutamur penitus ſuperos, hinc pallor & iræ
Hinc ſcelus inſidiæq; & nulla modeſtia voti. Statius.

When once men are given to theſe things, they not only do *Scrutari ſuperos*, pry into the ſecret things of God, as ſaith the Poet, but make uſe of unlawful and diabolical means, as *Saul* did when he went to the Woman who had the Spirit of *Python*, or like the wicked man who ſaith by the Pen of *Virgil*,

Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos Acheronta movebo.

Herewith men are ſo inticed at firſt, and then ſo bewitched, that this vain curioſity ends at laſt into an abominable one, ſo little the Spirit of man knows how to keep within bounds, and ſo eaſily he is drawn into unlawful things, thorough the Devils ſuggeſtions, which uſually are mixed with ſuch deſires and attempts. *Quid quiſque vitet, nunquam homini ſatis cautum eſt.*
Of ſuch with *Horace* one may ask? *Lib. 2. Od. 11.* *Quid æternis minorem conſiliis animum fatigas?* Why doſt thou perpetually trouble thy ſhallow mind with ſuch thoughts?

Theſe things and many more there are thoſe in the World who trouble their minds about, of which one of the moſt idle and vain is what we call pleaſures, which for the moſt part are attended with trouble and diſquietneſs, without ſolidity and

and more in imagination than reality, approved by ſences but condemned by reaſon, hence it is that in the midſt of them troubleſom thoughts do intervene, and being perſwaded of their vanity and tranſitorineſs, do ask of themſelves, How long ſhall this laſt? This was *Seneca*'s opinion, *Ipſæ voluptates eorum trepidæ & variis terroribus inquietæ ſunt, ſubitque cum maximè exultantes, ſollicita cogitatio hæc quamdiu?* upon this account being not ſatisfied with the preſent pleaſure, they are conſtantly looking out for new ones, and thorough the inconſtancy of mans mind and uncertainty of pleaſures, the brains of ſome are ever full of new deſigns, ſo that amidſt theſe changings thorough lightneſs and inconſtancy, are hurried away, and at laſt have no certain aim or fixed end in their whole life, every day running after new things, they fall into Atheiſm, profaneneſs, and licentiouſneſs, this is the effect of minding nothing but his pleaſures, which uſually are followed with grief, and therefore

Lib. de brevitate vitæ.

Sperne voluptates, nocet empta dolore voluptas.

Ambition is raſh and fooliſh in her deſigns, unjuſt and cruel in her wayes and progreſs, and fatal in her end. Yet ſome think they would be better if they were greater, making every thing in them depend upon that which is called Fortune: and indeed this is not an error of a particular man, 'tis a common one, as if men were to be eſteemed according to what they have, and not to what they are, by what they have outwardly, more than by their inward parts and endowments,

Fortuna

Fortuna non mutat genus, ſaith *Horace* to *Volteius Mena*, Fortune may change the manners but not the nature of a man, a Calf and an Aſs though of Gold, are ſtill a Calf and an Aſs; an Ape, ſaith the Proverb, is alwayes ſuch, though it be cloathed with Scarlet, and one defies Fortune to do otherwiſe. *Epod.* 4.

Cæca fove indignos ſors ut lubet, at tua dona
Simia ne maneat ſimia non facient. Lampſon.

Who is ſo unwiſe as to think thoſe to be Kings and Princes, who act the part of ſuch upon the Stage, though they wear Crowns, Scepters, and are highly reſpected by all thoſe who are about them, this is but a ſhew, and are after the Play no more than what they were before. *Non faciunt equum meliorem aurei fræni, neque hominem præſtantiorem fortunæ ornamenta*, ſaith *Seneca*. A Horſe is never the better for the richneſs of his Harneſs, nor a man the better for the Ornaments of Fortune, they are too ſuperficial, or rather not their own but borrowed, therefore one is ſo far from making the mind of men depend upon ſuch things, that on the contrary, he makes them depend upon the former, *Bona fortunæ perinde ſunt ut animus illius qui ea poſſidet; qui uti ſcit, ei bona, qui non utitur rectè, mala.* *Terent.* Nature is ſo far from being altered by theſe things, that great labours, induſtry and ſtrong endeavors cannot effect it, *'tis his nature and temper*, is an ordinary excuſe of men, when they cannot work in another the change they intended, do what you can, uſe

uſe ſoft or violent means, all will come to nothing.

Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen uſque recurret
Et mala perrumpet furtim faſtigia victrix. Horat.

Others think if they can but gather riches, their condition will be happy, and therefore think this to be the only or at leaſt the chief thing they are to look after: but to ſpeak of this in order, firſt one is by lawful means to ſtrive againſt Poverty, for let Philoſophers as long and as much as they pleaſe, declaim againſt riches, yet after their way, to be happy, one muſt have ſome accommodation and means in this World, not to be taken up with the cares and wants of this life, which often and wholly do take up the thoughts of men, making them vex, fret, and be wary of life, and ſometimes drive them to deſpair. Hereupon ſome Heathen Philoſophers are much miſtaken, who think that becauſe out of ſuch Principles, ſome did run to death, they might do it by the ſuggeſtions of reaſon, for the extraordinary effects of paſſion cannot be imitated by reaſon, becauſe they depend upon motions which altogether are not voluntary; we cannot raiſe within us thoſe violent ſtirrings, they depend upon objects, and ſometimes upon the diſpoſition of the body, thoſe People therefore did not deſpiſe death, but thought not upon it, and accounted it to be a place of reſt from their miſeries.

So that when the rigideſt Philoſopher wants and is a hungry, he cannot mind his Book nor his Meditation, we uſe to ſay, an empty ſtomach hath no eares, *Jejunus venter non audit verba libenter.*

benter, the inconveniencies of Poverty are great and many, it takes away the Hearts and Spirits of men, and whatſoever a Poor man doth, muſt be with the greateſt circumſpection in the World, whereby they often flatter thoſe of whom they expect any thing to live upon, ſhirking and making unbecoming and unworthy ſubmiſſion, with ſome it is a note of Infamy, forcing men to do and ſuffer any thing, and drawing them from the way of vertue, 'tis a great ſcourge, and as *Horace* ſaith,

Magnum pauperies opprobrium, jubet
Quidvis & facere & pati
Virtutiſque viam deſerit arduæ. Lib. 3. 24.

it is an enemy to good manners, and often makes a man afraid to undertake any thing, becauſe he thinks himſelf ſlighted by all the World, for

Haud facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obſtat
Res anguſta domi——— Juven.

therefore a poor man is in a perpetual fear of diſpleaſing any one, becauſe he ſtands in need of every one, he is ſtrangely put to ſtraights how to manage his paſſions well, if he loves he ought extraordinarily to be wary and diſcreet in it, if he hates he muſt be afraid of ſpeaking evil of others, according to this,

Pauper amet cautè, timeat maledicere pauper.

To

To ſome Poverty is certainly a great Plague, or to ſpeak more properly, a hard tryal, whereat Friends do ſtumble, are aſhamed to be known to, or to know us, and will not own us, for there is ſomething of ſelf-end in moſt mens friendſhip, one loves another, becauſe either he hath received ſome good Office, or is in hopes of it, or at leaſt he is able or willing or both to do it, this is no new truth but an old one.

Turpe quidem dictu ſed ſi modò vera fatemur
Vulgus amicitias utilitate probat. Ovid. 2. *de Ponto*

As one, ſpecially a Gentleman, is to fence and provide againſt Poverty, ſo in the next place he will do well to ſtudy and ſtrive after a mediocrity. The low ſort of People being uſed to Poverty from their Childhood, can bear it better and are not ſo ſenſible as a Gentleman, who for the moſt part having been born and brought up, if not amidſt a great plenty, at leaſt a competent fortune, are high hearted, and ſeeing ſuch a diſproportion of their means and quality, and having a more ſenſible ſoul than the reſt, are afflicted to want means of exerciſing their generoſity. Now this mediocrity conſiſts in a competency of means ſomewhat ſuitable to every ones condition which affords neceſſaries for life, *If we have food and Raiment 'tis enough, and we ought therewith to be content*, for as we brought nothing into the World, ſo we ſhall carry nothing out of it, one would think the Poet had read this, when he ſaith,

1 *Tim.* 6. 8.

Pauper

Pauper enim non eſt cui rerum ſuppetit uſus
Si ventri benè, ſi lateri eſt pedibuſque tuis, nil
Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus.
Hor. lib. 1. Epiſt. 12.

Wiſe *Solomon* asked of God a mediocrity, avoiding extreams when he ſaid, *give me neither Poverty nor Riches*, for the Poor often are tempted to ſteal, and the Rich to grow proud, but as proſperity hath undone many more than adverſity, becauſe *Dalila* like ſhe layes them aſleep on her lap, to betray them to their Spiritual Enemies. Often Riches carry death into the boſom of thoſe who enjoy them, like a naked Sword tyed to a hair ſtill hanging over their heads, ſo that certainly there is leſs danger, at leaſt from without, for the Poor than for the Rich, firſt having no Riches, no body will attempt upon their Life to get them.

Nulla aconita bibuntur
——Fictilibus. Juven.

We do not hear of men Poyſoned out of an Earthen Cup, as out of Golden and Silver ones; then he is not afraid of being robed, for

Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.

but as there is ſin in defect, as well as in exceſs, a mediocrity is attended with ſafety, more than any of the two extreams, and the Poet ſpeaks very well when he ſaith,

—Multa

——*Multa petentibus*
Deſunt multa, bené eſt cui deus obtulit
Parca quod ſatis eſt manu. Hor.l.3.Od.Ib.

They want much who ask much, 'tis well for one when God hath given that which is ſufficient for him, and without ſuperfluity. This mediocrity ought to be as dear and precious as Gold, for ſo the ſame Poet calls it, ſaying, that whoſoever loves and enjoyes it, is object neither of pitty nor of envy, there is neither penuriouſneſs nor magnificence in his Houſe, there is nothing very coſtly, but what he hath is neat and clean, well ordered, without a ſordid ſcarcity or extravagant ſuperfluity.

Auream quiſquis mediocritatem
Diligit tutus—————— Lib.2.Od.10.

The word *Tutus*, ſafe, he uſes, hath a great weight, conſidering the circumſtances of times, places and perſons, to be Rich hath often proved a crime under Covetous Princes, in jealous Republicks and in times of troubles, when a man is hidden amongſt the croud of people, he is not eaſily pointed at nor picked out, wherein we ought to mark the hand of God, who ſheweth mercy to the humble and withſtandeth the proud, and as nothing cauſes pride more than Riches, thoſe who enjoy them are moſt of all expoſed to his indignation, for they are apt with the Woman in the *Revelation*, to ſay, *I ſit Queen and ſhall ſee no trouble*, and as he hates the proud looks, he ſtrikes down the talleſt Cedars which

which moſt of all are expoſed to Winds and Thunder,

Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus————

It is then more ſafe to be in a middle condition, better to be in low Valleys than upon the top of high Mountains. We muſt retrench our deſires inſtead of increaſing our ſubſtance, for our mind gets Riches when it doth covet nothing.

Now to come to Riches, in themſelves they are unſignificant and have no other price or value, but what men are pleaſed to ſet upon them, Gold, Silver, Jewels, Lands, Houſes, *&c.* are things without life or motion, not able to remove cares from the heart, nor Diſtempers from the body of their Poſſeſſor.

Non domus, & fundus, non æris acervus & auri
Ægroto domini deduxit corpore febres
Non animo curas———— Hor.l.1.Epiſt.2.

They are things wanting heat and ſence, and like o, are worth nothing but what the next Figure to it makes it, Gold and Silver are nothing but yellow and white earth, ſubject to be adulterated and ſophiſticated, and to a thouſand accidents: Not worth we ſhould ſettle our heart upon it, nor that men ſhould take ſo much pains, run ſo great hazards, and do ſo many miſchiefs to purchaſe it.

However ſomething of it is neceſſary, and as God hath given us a life, ſo he hath appointed means whereby to preſerve it, and if therein we

follow but the desires of nature it is well, for they are within bounds and few things will satisfie her, but those of lust and concupiscence have no end; Riches, Pleasures and Powers are not Goods, only they seem such to lust, for on the contrary, to reason enlightned by Faith, they appear to be great evils, being great hinderances to Piety and Salvation. Nevertheless, as a prudent Traveller will make provision of things necessary to go on in his Journey, so a man who is but a Passenger in the World, must not neglect those supplyes without which he cannot go thorough, not for themselves, and as if they were his end, but for the need he stands in of them, and as means to this end; he who is to go a Journey, must get Moneys, herein his end is not to get Moneys, but to go where his occasions call him to, so that his Moneys are subservient to his purpose of Travelling, which yet without them he cannot undertake. When one is so upon a Journey, 'tis as wonderful as ordinary for a man to see what accommodations he will find in his way, Inns built, Horses furnished, Chambers prepared, men ready to serve, and who take it as a great favour when employed, they obey when commanded, and never refuse to yield what assistances are required of them.

Therefore we see how these things are necessary, not as an end, but as means conducing to it, not that we should settle our affections thereupon, but to make use of them as much as we think fit, or rather as God is pleased to give us and ours for this our Pilgrimage, for as the World goes, he who hath nothing, is nothing in the account of others: So then a man is not forbidden

to

to get, if he doth it thorough honeſt and lawful means, not with too much care and greedineſs.

Unde habeas quærit nemo, ſed oportet habere.

In theſe times many men are not inquiſitive about the Extraction, Piety, Life and Manners which are the laſt things ſought after, but preſently they ask, What Family doth ſuch a one keep? How much is he worth by the year, *&c.* as well expreſſed.

Da teſtem Romæ tam ſanctum quàm fuit hoſpes
——Ad cenſum? de moribus ultima fiet
Quæſtio: quot poſcit ſervos? quot poſſidet agri
Jugera? quàm multa magnaque proboſcide cænat.
Juven.

We muſt not raſhly condemn rich men, for ſome are very good, as *Job* and *Solomon* in the height of his glory, and in theſe dayes ſome alſo are found ſuch, for though to ſome Riches be a Curſe, as to the Rich man in the Goſpel, and to thoſe who truſt thereunto, yet to others being ſanctified of God they are a Bleſſing, for there are Temporal Bleſſings as are to enjoy the Fat of the earth, there are bleſſings on the left as on the right hand, though theſe are better than thoſe, ſo mention is made of the upper, and nether Springs ſignifying the ſame, as I named before, and many other things of this kind might be ſaid, which thoſe know, who are well verſed in the reading of Holy Scriptures, which on this as every other account, I own to be the unfallible rule and Supream Judge.

Heathens placed Riches in the number of what they called gifts of Fortune, which more properly we call Providence, so that, though they called Riches and their God of Hell, *Pluto*, or rather the Devil, with one and the same name, though perhaps their Moral meaning was, that rich men are in danger of Hell, we make them to be a gift of God: 'Tis true that the Devil is said to be the Prince of this World, (the Empires whereof he boasted to our Saviour were in his hand and disposition) yet as he can do nothing without Gods permission, 'tis in vain to attribute Riches to him as his proper and peculiar gift, there is no man rich but by Gods Grace, disposition, or at least permission, which being supposed to be received from Gods hand, let him who enjoyes it consider himself as a Tenant and a Steward, and therefore make a good and a right use of it, he ought to bestow it upon works of Piety, Charity and Necessity, these being Talents which at one time or other he is to give an account of to the great Master and Landlord who at the last day will say to those who have not made a right use of their means, *When I was hungry you fed me not, when I was naked you cloathed me not, therefore go you wicked*, &c. Hence we may see how damning are sins of omission, let all rich men remember that Charity doth hide multitude of sins, wherefore *Nebuchadnezzar* was advised to break off his iniquities by shewing mercy to the Poor. Charity consists not in words, for saith St. *James*, to say to one, go cloath thy self, eat and drink and not give him wherewith,

Πλουτος.

Dan. 4. 27.

is

is no Charity, Faith works thorough Charity, which is the fulfilling of the Law, and he who gives to the Poor, lendeth to the Lord.

God hath not given Riches, to the end they ſhould be lockt up in a Cheſt, and that none ſhould have the uſe of them: not only the Poſſeſſor, but alſo his Friends upon good and neceſſary occaſions ſhould be the better for it. Such kindneſſes done to deſerving Friends are not loſt, and ſometimes they bring along with them very good returns, theſe may prove a ſurer treaſure than what a man hath in his Trunck, and are not within the retch of Fortune.

Extrà fortunam eſt quicquid donatur amicis
Quas dederis ſolas, ſemper habebis, opes. Mart.

'Tis not good to truſt to his Riches, for he who doth, ſhall not enter into Heaven, when they are well gotten they ought to be received in ones Houſe, but not in his heart, and let the Poſſeſſor be ready to forſake them when it will be Gods pleaſure for him ſo to do, he is truly Rich who wants no Riches, *Nemo alius eſt Deo dignior quàm qui opes contempſerit, quarum poſſeſſionem non tibi interdico*, no man, ſaith *Seneca*, is more worthy of God, than he who doth contemn Riches, I do not forbid you to poſſeſs them, but I wiſh that poſſeſſion not to be attended with extraordinary cares and fears, he is of a good mind and ſound heart, who ſeeing Riches all round about him, after he hath long and much admired to ſee himſelf Maſter thereof, laughs thereat, and doth not ſo much feel as hear they are his.

To be liberal yet not profuſe of theſe things, is to make a right uſe of them, 'tis to be Poſſeſſor of and not poſſeſſed by them, ſee the prudence of the unjuſt Steward: Time will come when all theſe ſhall periſh, and perhaps make him periſh who would not uſe them well, and who then will find how contemptible is that which he ſo much admired, in that like Children who eſteem very much every trifle that pleaſes their eye though but Straws, Sand of ſeveral colours, *&c.* people loveth and valueth much thoſe who make a good uſe of what God hath given them, a judicious and ſeaſonable liberality is requited with the affections of all whom 'tis extended upon, except they be very ungrateful, and are much concerned in every thing whether good or evil that befalls them, are ready to aſſiſt him in his affairs, troubles, diſtempers, *&c.* for

At ſi condoluit tentatum frigore corpus
Aut aliquis caſus te lecto affixit, habes qui
Aſſideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget ut te
Suſcitet, & reddat natis cariſque propinquis.
Hor. lib. 1. Sat. 1.

On the contrary, when a Rich man is miſerable and penurious, he is loved by none and hated by all, no body cares for what befalls him, and as he ever preferred his Riches to Wife, Children, and other Relations and Friends, all thoſe care not [a] for, but forſake him, then he muſt not wonder to ſee himſelf deprived of that love and ſervice he never deſerved, as expreſſed by the ſame Poet,

[a] I ſay this but approve not of it,

Non

Non uxor the *Salvum vult, non filius, omnes*
Vicini oderunt, noti pueri atque puellæ;
Miraris cum te argento poſt omnia ponas,
Si nemo præſtet quem non merearis amorem.

A bad effect of Riches is covetouſneſs and often Pride, a good quality in a man makes us overlook a bad one, one can bear with the Pride of a man if he be liberal, or with the covetouſneſs of another if he be humble, but few can bear with a proud and covetous man, but the worſt is, that one bad quality is ſeldom alone, for commonly they are coupled.

Thus I am engaged farther to ſpeak of the abuſe of Riches: he abuſes them who either doth not uſe them to a good end, or uſeth them for an evil end, the firſt conſiſts properly in omiſſion, and the laſt in commiſſion, and neither is without guilt, he who can hinder a miſchief and doth not, is guilty of it, if not as principal at leaſt as acceſſary, to ſtab or ſtarve a man is ſtill to be a Murtherer, the end is one and the ſame, though there be different wayes, ſome are profuſe of what they have, and others are covetous, theſe here are commanded by it, and thoſe there make it to ſerve their luſt, both are vicious extreams equally to be avoided.

But becauſe Riches are the ſubject I now treat of, profuſeneſs is not of my purpoſe, for he who is of that temper, will ſoon loſe the name of a Rich man and fall into Poverty, there being in the World occaſions enough to exhauſt any Treaſures without frugality and with prodigality. The value which the generality of men ſets upon

Riches, deſerves indeed a ſevere Cenſure, theſe things are not as Modes wherein a man ought not to be ſingular, but on this account, one muſt not follow the multitude to do evil, as Scripture ſaith. As this is an old error, ſo it hath been condemned long ago, a mans birth and vertue without an Eſtate, are a pittiful thing.

Et genus & virtus niſi cum re vilior Algâ eſt.
Horat. lib. 2. Sat. 5.

It is very ſtrange, that ſo noble things ſhould depend upon ſo vile a one, yet not ſo ſtrange as true, and not only theſe, but alſo honour and love are what it makes them.

Aurea nunc vere ſunt ſecula, plurimus auro
Venit honos, auro conciliatur amor. Ovid.

Learning is not valued without it, for he adds,

Ipſe licet venias Muſis comitatus, Homere,
Si nihil attuleris, ibis Homere foras.

Euripid. The power of Riches is very great, ſeeing *a man becomes noble* (is accounted ſuch) *as ſoon as he hath gotten them*, all things obey Riches, which vertue, name, honour, Divine and humane things yield obedience unto, and which if one doth enjoy, can make him famous, ſtrong, juſt, wiſe, even a King, and what elſe he pleaſes.

——*Omnis*

———*Omnis enim res*
Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris
Divitiis parent, quas quis conſtruxerit, ille
Clarus erit, fortis, juſtus, ſapiens etiam & Rex
Et quicquid volet——— Hor.l.2.Sat.3.

Elſewhere he calls money a Queen, giving rich Wives, Friends, Quality, Beauty——*Scilicet uxorem cum dote fidemque & amicos & genus & formam, regina pecunia donat*, and all things beſides, Gold ſets thoſe who watch faſt aſleep, breaks thorough ſtrong walls, ſets open Iron Gates, as he gives an inſtance in the caſe of *Danae*, ſhut up by her Father in a Tower which force could not take, and had committed the keeping of it to thoſe of his ſubjects he had found very watchful, Loyal and Valiant, for all this, Gold found out a way, one went in and enjoyed his Daughter, *Converſo in prætium Deo, Jupiter* having changed himſelf into a Rain of Gold, which is ſtronger than the very Thunder.

Aurum per medios ire ſatellites
Et perrumpere amat ſaxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo. Lib. 2. Od. Ib.

Philip King of *Macedonia* uſed to ſay, that there is never a place but can be taken, if there be way for an Aſs loaden with Gold to get in it, indeed nothing hath ſo much power to corrupt the honeſty and fidelity of men as Moneys, therefore *Alexander* the Great was expreſly charged by his Father, not to truſt to thoſe whom Moneys had gotten to him, for he who is ready to receive upon

upon all accounts is true to noman, alas ſaith one, *Proh ut nihil ſanum reperis uſpiam, ſed pariter omnes ſerviant victi lucro*, no ſoundneſs to be found any where, for all equally make themſelves drudges for a little gain. He is not alone of his opinion, ſeveral others are of his mind, and though they cannot remedy ſo inveterate and univerſal a diſtemper, yet they complain of and condemn it, one of them above the reſt pleaſes me therein, for he ſaith much in few words.

Aurum omnes victâ jam pietate colunt,
Auro pulſa fides, auro venalia jura,
Aurum lex ſequitur, mox ſine lege, pudor.
Propertius.

Nothing is at Gold proof, the moſt Holy, Juſt, and honeſt things can hardly reſiſt it, but are in danger of being corrupted thereby, but what need of ſo many Witneſſes, let dayly experience be the judge of that unjuſt value which moſt men do ſet upon Riches. That in ſo doing they do amiſs I could ſhew it out of the vanity and uncertainty of Riches, and of their being ſnares to men, but becauſe ſeveral things remain to be ſpoken of, I intend only to uſe two Arguments, whereof one is that they do not ſatisfie men, the other from the cares and pains of rich covetous men.

As a ſick man's thirſt cannot be quenched by the Water which he ſeeth running in the River, though he moves it with his hand, except he puts it into his mouth and drinks it, ſo the covetous man is never ſatisfied, though he ſees and feels his Treaſures, becauſe he cannot convey them into

into his heart, which is the ſeat of his covetouſneſs: this compariſon, I ground upon what *Diogenes* ſaid of covetous men, for he compares them to thoſe who have the Dropſie, theſe here are full of Water, and thoſe there of Moneys, they both deſire more yet to their own hurt, this *Horace* hath put into good Verſes, The more he drinks, the more he would drink, and this continual thirſt will never ceaſe, till the cauſe be removed, ſo the principle of covetouſneſs, being in the heart, muſt be rooted out, or elſe a covetous man will continue to be inſatiable, and to hold my compariſon.

Lib. 2. Od. 2. *Creſcit indulgens ſibi dirus hydrops nec ſitim*, &c.

Quo plus ſunt potæ, plus ſitiuntur aquæ.

Moneys do no cure covetouſneſs, but do increaſe it, therefore, the covetous man is cauſe of his own miſery, there is in men a perpetual deſire of Moneys, which, if they cannot be gotten, cauſes a vexation, if they are, the cares wherewith they are attended do torment, and if they be loſt they bring great grief, ſaith *Democritus*; he cannot be well who doth not well uſe what he hath, for

Pecunia non curat ſed irritat avaritiam, Sen.

——*Valeat poſſeſſor oportet*
Si comportatis rebus benè cogitat uti. Hor. l. 1. Ep. 2.

There is no middle way, a man muſt either be Maſter or Servant of what he hath, according to reaſon he ſhould command rather than to obey, yet the covetous man dares not to make a right uſe

Imperat aut ſervit collecta pecunia cuique, Tortum digna ſequi potiùs quam ducere funem, lib. 1. Epiſt. 10.

uſe of his Eſtate, and doth not know how to enjoy his Riches, becauſe he locks it up in his Cheſts, and will ſtarve rather than therewith to ſupply his wants and neceſſities, *qui nummos aurumque recondit neſcius uti*, the more a covetous man hath, the more he would have, that which he hath, he doth not enjoy, he doth covet and long for that which belongs to others, when he hath all, in his opinion he hath nothing, for he wiſhes for all as if he had nothing, and wanted every thing, *creſcentem ſequitur cura pecuniam majorumque fames*, to my mind *Juvenal* hath well expreſſed this, when he ſaith,

Creſcit amor nummi quantùm ipſa pecunia creſcit.

What a bewitching thing is this, he who hath Moneys deſires more than he who hath none. Night and day thou art vexed, ſaith *Cicero*, to the covetous man, as if that was not enough, which is ſufficient to thee, thou art afraid not to enjoy long that which thou haſt, for thy deſires are never ſatisfied, thou art ſollicitous, not only how to increaſe that which thou haſt, but alſo afraid of loſing it, hereunto I joyn ſome words of *Seneca* upon the ſubject, *Quid refert quantum illi in arca quantum in horreis jaceat ſi aliena inhiet*,&c. It matters not how much he hath in his Cheſt and in his Barn, if he luſts after that which is another mans, if he reckons not that which he hath, but that which he intends to get, for he is not poor who hath little, but he who deſires much, as he is rich not who hath much, but who deſires little,

little, extraordinary great Riches are like very great Helmes, fitter to drown than to guide a Ship, by reaſon of their ſuperfluous bigneſs.

Thus this wiſe man in a ſerious and grave way ſhews the error of ſuch men, another cenſures them in a more Satyrical way, and calls them Fools, when he brings in a penurious miſerable man ſick of a Lethargy, telling whole bags of Money upon a Table, by his order ſet a purpoſe before his Bed, then he ſaith to himſelf, *If I be not careful of this, a greedy Heir will carry all away from me.* Hereupon the Phyſitian comes in and bids him to mind his health, and uſe means to recover it, ſpecially to ſtrengthen his ſtomach with nouriſhment, then offers him ſomething to take which he brought for him, but he preſently asks the price, very little ſaith the Doctor, how much then ſaid the Patient? eight Pence anſwered he, alas, ſaith he, 'tis no matter whether I dye of Sickneſs, or Cheat and Extortion, this takes up whole ſixteen Verſes, where the laſt is,

———*Eheu*
Quid refert morbo an furtis pereâmve rapinis?

After this the Poet asks, who is ſound? he who is not a Fool, what is a covetous man? a Fool and a Mad-man.

Quiſnam igitur ſanus, qui non ſtultus? quid avarus
Stultus & inſanus——— Hor.l.2 Sat.3.

Certainly if he did but conſider what one ſaid, and experience confirms that the God of Riches is blind and lame when he comes, but hath wings when

when he goeth away, he would not make them his all in all, nor be ſo greedy to encreaſe them which are as Oyl poured on the fire, making it burn more violently, *Semper avarus eget*, the covetous man is alwayes in want, therefore ſaith wiſely *Horace*, *Certum voto pete finem*, let not your deſires be endleſs, confine them to ſomething which a covetous man cannot do, and this I believe is ſufficient to ſhew that Riches do not ſatisfie men.

Now I muſt come to the cares and pains which covetous men are attended with in getting as well as keeping. 'Tis to be admired what a drudgery they give themſelves to, to ſcrape a poor vile thing, they make of themſelves the greateſt Slaves in the World, they think every one they ſee hath a deſign upon their Moneys or their life, when their Bags are out of ſight, they ſuſpect one or other is ſtealing them, they cannot reſt for fear of being robbed, and one can ſooner with his teeth pull a nail out of a wall, than a Farthing out of their Pocket, ever they receive with greedineſs and never lay out without grumbling. What a kind of life is this? Is there any wiſe man or who hath his wits about him, but would be glad to be rid of ſuch a trouble, how ſollicitous, how watchful and how full of cares are they? This conſtant diſquietneſs is no leſs than Hell to them whereby they are tormented before the time: they ſit up late, riſe early, eat the bread of carefulneſs, but conſider not that all is in vain, becauſe God's bleſſing doth not go along with it.

Plures

Plures nimiâ congeſta pecunia curâ
Strangulat——— Juven. Sat. 19.

If men in a ſober and ſerious ſence did look upon what dangers theſe run into, they would be afraid of it, but they like mad and diſtracted men run headlong any where and into every danger, thorough Fire, Water, Sword, in the hoteſt Summer and coldeſt Winter, to ſatisfie unſatiable covetouſneſs, and grow as Rich as others are. And though herein they have outgone many, yet becauſe there are ſtill ſome Richer than they, (or whom they think ſo) they are in a perpetual motion and ever out of breath, the Poet expreſſes this well.

——*Cum te neque fervidus æſtus*, &c.
Sic feſtinanti ſemper locupletior obſtat. Hor. l. 2. Sat. 1

Out of this Principle men have undertaken long and tedious Voyages into the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, and as far as they could from one Pole to another, with the greateſt inconveniencies and hazzards in the World, they attempted to make new diſcoveries, and like venturers have been wandering up and down the Seas, ſome have loſt their life in their deſigns of finding by the North a way into the *Eaſt-Indies*, others in their attempts in the Weſt Parts of the World, and nothing hath been able to deter them from their undertakings, no fear

I do not diſ-approve of this which can produce much good to the Publick, but only in thoſe who run upon ſuch hazzards out of covetouſneſs, when they have means enough at home

fear of Pyrates, Waters, Fire, Winds, Ship-wrack, or death it ſelf, could do it.

——Si neque fervidis
Pars incluſa caloribus
Mundi nec——
Vincunt æquora navitæ. Lib. 3. Od. 24.

One day *Diogenes* ſeeing ſeveral Servants carrying much Gold and Silver Plate, enquired whoſe things thoſe were, he was told of *Anaximenes*, *What*, ſaid he, *is he not aſhamed to have ſo many things, and yet not be Maſter of himſelf?* The man delighted much in ſuch things, minded hardly any thing elſe, made much ado in the World about it, and was pleaſed to ſee others take notice of what he had: But alas, all theſe People *Martha*-like, are buſied about many things, few with *Mary*, taking the good part which ſhall never be taken away: Mankind doth alwayes turmoil in vain, and life full of unneceſſary cares, paſſes away, the reaſon is, becauſe it knows not how to fix upon an end, nor wherein conſiſts true pleaſure.

Ergo hominum genus incaſſum fruſtráque laborat
Semper, & in curis conſumit inanibus ævum:
Nimirum quia non cognovit quæ ſit habendi
Finis, & omninò quo adcreſcat vera voluptas.
Lucretius.

'Tis a very bad ſign when a man doth not feel his pains, but 'tis a worſe one when he makes his pains to be his pleaſure, I do not mean thoſe wherewith God is pleaſed to chaſtiſe him, for in ſuch

ſuch a caſe he is chearfully to undergo the burthen laid upon him, but I mean thoſe pains which his folly brings upon him, doing thoſe things which are contrary to God's Holy will, he hath branded ſeveral things with vanity and folly, and hath ſet a Buoy to warn us of it, if after this we run upon it, it is our fault, and deſerve what miſchief we thereby do bring upon our ſelves. Riches is one of thoſe things whereof the abuſe is very pernicious, a truth imparted not only thoroughout the light of grace, but univerſally known by that of nature, or at leaſt thorough the help of humane learning and natural Philoſophy, and therefore have witneſſes not only out of Scriptures, but alſo from amongſt the very Heathen, as already I made uſe of ſeveral to make the more unexcuſable, thoſe Chriſtians who abuſe their Riches, which often become uncomfortable, make our life troubleſome, fomenting the vices of men, filling them with cares, and often cauſing untimely death, according to what ſaith a Poet, with whoſe words I now conclude this matter.

Ergo ſollicitæ tu cauſa pecunia vitæ es,
Per te immaturum mortis adimus iter:
Tu vitiis hominum crudelia pabula præbes
Semina curarum de capite orta tuô. Propertius.

To divert his thoughts from theſe things, it were a great help if one would apply himſelf to ſtudy and reading, when a man is in private, and retired from the great Croud, he will quiet his mind, reſiſt and quell his paſſions, and ſo ſettle a calm in his ſoul, *à muſis tranquillitas.* When one is ſitting in his Cloſet, he looks upon the

World at a distance, and so judges better of it, like one who from the shore, without fear or danger, sees a storm at Sea, so with a quiet mind and without any agitation he will consider worldly thing, and there find a remedy almost against all manner of Distempers, first against sorrow and fear, for such Weeds do not grow in the Garden of *Muses*, wherefore he who loves them, looks on these things as below him, and matters them not, when he saith, he will through to the winds, by them to be carryed and drowned in the Sea.

Musis amicus tristitiam & metus, tradam protervis in mare Creticum, portare ventis, Hor. l. 1. Od. 26.

Then this is a remedy against trouble and disquietness of mind, which being applied to other things puts it off: Whilest one is reading or Meditating, he only thinks upon the subject that takes him up, so that though this should not altogether cure, yet 'tis a great ease to it, the thoughts of it being suspended for a time, those troublesome Ideas are laid aside, and give place to others more or less pleasant according to the nature of the subject he is taken up with, this certainly is a good way to divert any trouble and Melancholly, clearing up the mists of vexation and discontents. Learning doth sometimes work in men, a grave, serious, and a melancholly temper, but never afflicts, vexes or troubles them, except it be by accident; by the word Verses, which the Poet [a] uses in a Poetical way, may well be understood learning in general, which he

[a] *Carmina lætum sunt opus & pacem mentis habere volunt,* Ovid.

he who [b] applies himſelf unto, muſt be of a quiet mind, reſt and diſquietneſs, mirth and ſorrow not agreeing one with another.

[b] *Carmina proveniunt animo deducta ſereno, Triſtia cum lætis, non bene, ſigna, cadunt,* Ovid.

He who ſometimes keeps cloſe to his ſtudy and is buſie with his Books, plots then no Treaſon, and contrives no miſchief or Treachery againſt any, is troubled with no ambition or covetouſneſs, and meddles not with the affairs of others, Theory and Meditation fit and direct him for practice and good manners, the delight he takes to converſe with Books, makes him mind nothing ſo much as them, get all other things ſubſervient thereunto, and works in him ſeveral other good effects.

Adde quod inſidiæ Sacris à vatibus abſunt
Et facit ad mores ars quoque noſtra bonos,
Nec nos ambitio, nec nos amor urget habendi,
Contempto, colitur lectus & umbra forô. Ovid.

They alſo who are deſirous to get a name, may herein be ſatisfied, for either by their own works, or with the Pen of others, if they make themſelves worthy of it, they may happen to become famous and be traduced to poſterity: by theſe means we hear of *Cyrus*, *Alexander* the Great, *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Agrippa*, *Mecenas* and other great men of Antiquity, and *Ceſar* is as much commended for ſo well writing as for doing his brave exploits. And though it argues ſomething of vanity in Poets, when they ſay they

Dignum laude virum, muſa vetat mori, and *cœlo muſa beat*, Hor. lib. 4. Od. 8.

can make a man immortal or infamous and contemptible, raiſe him up to Heaven or turn him down to Hell, for like theſe are the expreſſions of a Poet; and another of his Contemporaries, ſpeaks as high as he, when he ſaith that Poets alone can give a fume, which he affirms to be the end of their labours, and that of old it was the care of Kings and great Princes, to beſtow great rewards upon thoſe who were able to perpetuate their names.

Quid petitur Sacris niſi tantum fama Poëtis
Hoc votum noſtri ſumma laboris habet
Cura ducum fuerunt olim regumque Poëtæ
Præmiaque antiqui magna tulere chori. Ovid.

I ſay, though in this there be much vanity, yet there is ſomething of truth confirmed by reaſon and experience, for how could the Hiſtory of Antiquity have been tranſmitted to us, had it not been for Hiſtorians, Poets, and ſuch Writers: The Lives and Actions of men without that had been buried in Oblivion, and without Books we had never known that ſuch Actions were done, or that there had been ſuch men in the World, *Achilles*, *Hector*, *Ulyſſes*, and others are beholden to *Homer*, as *Aeneas* or rather *Auguſtus*, for whoſe ſake the *Aeneides* were compiled to *Virgil*, ſo that we muſt agree with *Horace*, that the greateſt men either for vertue or birth, can in time be forgotten, except one or other

Except by the means of Medals, Statues and other Monuments of Antiquity.

other in his Writings makes mention of them.

Nemo tam claro genitus parente, nemo tam clarâ probitate fulſit, mox edox quem non perimit vetuſtas, vate remoto, Hor. lib. 4. Od. 9.

Vertue is the true chief qualification for him who deſires to be taken notice of by Writers, (though ſome take other courſes) and though he miſſes his aim, yet knowing he deſerves it, he hath a ſatisfaction within himſelf. Let a Gentleman endeavor to be vertuous for his own good, credit and ſatisfaction, though it were only for himſelf, and not in relation to others, for vertue carries its reward along with it, and hath this particular, that it is [a] eſteemed by her Enemies, and thoſe who do not practiſe it, 'tis not lifted up with proſperity, nor dejected in adverſity, *vireſcit vulnere*, and upon all accounts 'tis the beſt defenſive and offenſive Armes that can be uſed, 'tis like a Rock in the midſt of the Sea, unmoveable amidſt the Waves and Windes, in every Vice is ſomething of bitterneſs, but the pleaſure of Vertue is ſolid, quiet, high, fixed and unchangeable, he who enjoyes it, takes no diſtaſte thereat, nor repent of it, 'tis not attended with ſhame nor ſorrow, Vice changes, but vertue is ever the ſame, and forſakes not him who is really poſſeſſed of it.

[a] Some vitious Parents will not have their Children to follow the vices they are given to themſelves.

Let all the actions of a Gentleman be acted out of a Principle of Vertue, carryed on with much readineſs and chearfulneſs, and directed by a pure intention, and let the aſſiduity wherewith

he labours to attain unto a progreſs of Vertue, be ſuitable to the knowledge he hath of the perfection thereof, yet he muſt know that this progreſs doth not ſo much conſiſt in the number of exerciſes, as in the exact performance of thoſe he undertakes, it being not ſo much the action as the manner of doing it, which deſerves to be commended. Now vertue ſtands (if I may ſo ſay) on her own Legs, and depends not upon others, nor the opinion they have of it, her honour is pure and undefiled. Though whileſt alive, it be expoſed to envy, yet it lives after death, although they who are endued with it, whileſt alive undergo ſufferings, when they are gone they receive their due praiſe, for

Virtus repulſæ neſcia ſordidæ, incontaminatis fulget honoribus, nec ſumit aut ponit ſecures, arbitrio popularis auræ, Hor. l. 3. Od. 2.

Paſcitur in vivis livor, poſt fata quieſcit. Ovid.

As *Horace* inſtances in the caſe of *Hercules*, who for all his great and many exploits, ſuffered much from the envy of others, but at laſt,

Comperit invidiam ſupremo fine domari
——*Extinctus amabitur idem.* Hor. l. 2. Ep. 1.

Iter facientes per ſolem, neceſſario comitatur umbra, incedentibus vero per gloriam comes eſt invidia.

Plato ſaith, envy is unavoidable to vertue, as a ſhadow to a body in the Sun, certainly out of that antipathy which is between contraries; but after death, Vertue tramples it under feet, and then is not afraid of being forgotten.

Poſt

Poſt obitum benefacta manent, æternaque virtus
Non metuit Stygiis ne rapiatur aquis.

We have a Cloud of Witneſſes to confirm this truth, and the worth of Vertue which is honourable, not becauſe it is cryed up by a fooliſh People, all her glory ſhe borrows from her ſelf, and hath and deſires nothing from others, theſe and other praiſes of Vertue are ſo well expreſſed by *Horace*, that I cannot forbear ſetting down his expreſſions in this place.

——Populus nam ſtultus honores
Sæpe dat indignis & famæ ſervit ineptus,
Ipſa quidem virtus pretium ſibi, ſolaque latè
Fortuna ſecura nitet, nec faſcibus ullis
Erigitur, plauſuque petit clareſcere vulgi
Nil opis externæ cupiens, nil indiga laudis,
Divitiis animoſa ſuis, immotaque cunctis
Cladibus ex altâ mortalia deſpicit arce.

After Grace, Vertue is certainly the greateſt gift of God to men in this World, therefore a man is obliged to be taken up in the exerciſe thereof, without it he can enjoy no good, from it he receives part of his reſt and felicity. In the World are three things between which is a great correſpondency and Conformity, the firſt, in all and above all is God, amongſt things which fall under ſences is light, and Vertue amongſt the perfections of the ſoul: God is the light and Vertue of all things, light is the vertue of the World and the Image of God, and vertue is the light of the ſoul, whereby we are called and become the

Children of God, this we ought to draw nigh to, if we intend to draw nigh to the perfection we are capable of in this life: the perfection of men of ſuch (but not as Chriſtian) conſiſts in Vertue, which in ſome kind renews innocency, 'tis a help to nature, which of her ſelf is not capable of a ſupernatural gift.

Now in the ſtudy of Vertue, the firſt thing to be done, is to know the nature and acts of every Vertue, for no [a] man loves that which he doth not know, then the next is continually to be exerciſing and doing ſome act of Vertue, though there be no real occaſion for it, even as we ſee Souldiers who in the midſt of Peace, make the exerciſe of War, and thoroughout fained Skirmiſhes, are fitting themſelves for real Combats; ſo let a man fancy he is much wronged, offended, *&c.* and try how his Spirit could bear it, it caſe he were actually brought to it. The habit of Vertues cannot be gotten, but thoroughout a long practiſe, now there are ſigns to know when a man hath acquired ſome, namely, if he feels the vices contrary to that Vertue are wholly ſuppreſſed, or at leaſt brought under, if the motions of inordinate paſſions be ſubmitted to reaſon, if he delights in doing acts of Vertue, if he loaths thoſe habitual vices which formerly were in him, if he doth imitate what he admires in others, and abſtain from thoſe things he condemns in them, and ſuch like things which Divines teach us every day: But Vertue is not eaſily contracted into an habit, great and conſtant pains muſt be uſed towards it, *Virtus labore paratur*, ſaith one: going up to it, is very ſteep, but when moſt difficulties

[a] *Ignoti nulla Cupido.*

culties are over, and one is gone up, the way is easie and smooth, as 'tis well expressed in the following Verses,

Virtutem voluere dii sudore parari,
Arduus est ad eam, longusque per ardua, tractus,
Asper & est primùm: sed ubi alta cacumina tanges,
Sit facilis, quæ dura prius fuit inclyta virtus. Lucil.

After all this when a man hath provided for his necessities, conveniencies, credit, pleasures, and even laboured hard after Vertue, yet this is but the least of what he is to mind, and there is a greater work for him to be done, without which all the rest will be in vain and prove useless to him; I mean his Spiritual good: As he hath a Family and a body, health and life to provide for, he hath also a soul to save, this is the best part of man, but the generality of them is so sensual, that it is the least minded, if at all, besides the Principles of Religion which he ought to be instructed in, he must avoid falling into licentiousness and impiety which are too common in the World; when I speak of Religion, I do not here mean the outward performance and practise thereof, so much as the inward examination and application of it. I would have him often to consider within himself these things following.

The horrid corruption of mans heart, his unrighteousness, vanity, deadness, brutishness and misery, and so the necessity of Reformation in nature. In consequence of this, men having sought after several remedies to their Distempers, have only shewed their greatness and their unableness to cure them; this true remedy cannot be gotten

gotten out of reaſon, but we muſt learn it from Religion, or rather from God himſelf, which Religion diſcovereth to us the cauſe and ſpring of all our evils, which all Philoſophers in the World could not find out, from the two eſtates of men, one of Innocency, the other of his fall, and preſently ſhews us the only remedy in the redemption made by our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*. This Religion is the moſt Antient of any in the World, hath been from the beginning amongſt a peculiar People, who with an extraordinary care hath kept the Books wherein 'tis contained, confirmed by a number of Miracles wrought by him thoroughout whoſe Miniſtery it was enjoyed in the ſight of ſix hundred thouſand men who certainly could have given the lye, if he had invented and written it in a Book ſo injurious to that People who preſerved it, ſeeing every where his crimes and infidelities are therein made known.

The ſame Book doth foretell the coming of a Saviour, and the whole Religion of that People conſiſted in the expectation they were in of him, and to Typifie and repreſent him in all their Ceremonies. The coming of that Saviour was Propheeied of from time to time by thoſe who inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, marked times, places, and the chief circumſtances of his Life and Death. Then in the appointed time, he is come himſelf, but was diſowned by the *Jews*, becauſe the Prophets having foretold two comings of his, one in Humility the other in Glory, they fixed only upon this laſt, and regarded not the firſt, hence we ought to meditate upon the reaſons of ſuch an Humiliation and the wonders of his Life, the certainty of his Reſurrection for the which all

thoſe

thoſe that were witneſſes thereof, have willingly ſuffered Martyrdom: The Miracles of the Apoſtles, the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* as foretold by our Saviour, the dreadful puniſhment of the *Jews*, the Converſion of the *Gentiles* in ſo extraordinary a way, that in leſs than a hundred and fifty years the Goſpel was Preached thoroughout the whole World, even amongſt the moſt [a] Barbarous Nations, are not to be neglected, nor the admirable power of the ſame Religion which hath held out and been propagated in ſpight of the moſt cruel and bloody Perſecutions that the malice of men or Devils could deviſe.

[a] *Juſtin. Dial. contra Tryph.*

Theſe things being often thought upon and reliſhed, will withdraw mans mind from Mortal and corruptible, and fix it upon immortal and uncorruptible objects, make them think upon their Heavenly calling, and work their Salvation with fear and trembling, for *Mortalia facta peribunt*, there being nothing everlaſting under the Sun, time will devour all things, wherefore it is called by one, *Tempus edax rerum*, which yet is very ſhort for the work a Chriſtian is to do, this conſideration joyned to an inſtinct, will violently drive us out of our ſelves, becauſe within us we find nothing able to ſatisfie, therefore we muſt look out to Jeſus the Author and finiſher of our Faith, and obſerving the general fault of the World, as *Seneca* mentions it, *Quaſi nihil petitur, quaſi nihil datur re unâ omnium pretioſiſſimâ luditur*, that is, men ask the time of others as if it was nothing, they give their time to others as if it was nothing, and ſo they make nothing of that which is moſt precious in the World, one muſt make a better uſe of it. Which

Which will be, first if a man doth think of death as long as he lives, 'tis an excellent sentence of *Seneca*, *Totâ vitâ discendum est mori*, our whole life time, we must learn to dye, like an Ancient Doctor of the Church, St. *Jerome*. *Whereſoever I am, and whatſoever I do, it ſeems to me, I hear this voice, riſe ye dead, and come to Judgment.* This Meditation is an effect of true Wiſdom, and if to theſe Holy thoughts, I durſt joyn the Authority of prophane Authors, I could aſhame many a Chriſtian,

Inter ſpem auramque, timores inter & iras,
Omnem crede diem tibi diluxiſſe ſupremum,
Grata ſuperveniet, quæ non ſperabitur hora.
Hor. lib. 1. Ep. 2.

Muſonius being one day asked, who, he thought, could dye well, anſwered, he who is ever prepared to dye, he who will dye well ought to live well, the firſt wicked men are *Numb.* 23. 10. deſirous of, *Let me dye the death of the righteous*, ſaith *Balaam*, but the laſt they will not practiſe, men muſt ever look to their latter end, therefore *David* ſaith, *O teach me ſo to number my dayes, that I may apply my heart unto wiſdom*, death is common to all, a King [a] and a Shoe-maker dye all alike, this is a Law of nature, as acknowledged by *Anaxagoras* and *Socrates*, who having received the Meſſage of death, anſwered, *Nature hath paſſed this Sentence againſt our Judges as well as againſt us.*

[a] *Menander.*

Tendimus

Tendimus huc omnes metam properamus ad unam
Omnia ſub leges, mors vocat atra, ſuas. Ovid.

Death cannot be cheated or frighted, ſo that 'tis unavoidable, great and little ones go that way, ſhe purſues him that flyes away and ſpares neither Young nor Old, Noble or Yeoman, Rich or Poor 'tis no matter, thou ſhalt dye, Death hath mercy upon no man, but drives all one way ſoon or late. The firſt dayes which are the beſt of mans life fly away and are followed with Diſeaſes, Pains, old Age, and all is carryed away by Death, *ſubeunt morbi triſtiſq; ſenectus*, ſaith *Virgil* and another, *Improviſa lethi vis rapuit rapietque gentes*, 'tis not foreſeen and is uncertain whether one is to live a day longer, having no certain Leaſe of our Life.

Neque ulla eſt aut magno aut parvo lethi fuga. Hor.

Æqua lege neceſſitas ſortitur inſignes & imos, omne capax movet urna nomen.

Et nos in æternum exitium impoſitura cymbo, Hor. l. 2. Od. 3.

Quis ſcit an adjiciant hodiernæ craſtina ſummæ
Tempora di ſuperi ——— Lib. 4. Od. 7.

And when this once is come to paſs, there is no recalling nor coming to life again till the laſt day, if men have done well in this life the better for them, if amiſs they will be the worſe for it. Nobleneſs, Eloquence, Piety nor nothing elſe but a Miracle and that's very rare, can quicken us when once we be dead, *The Sun*, ſaith

Nos ubi decidimus, quo Pius Aeneas, *quo* Tullus, Dives *&* Ancus, *pulvis & umbra ſumus*, L. 4. Od. 7.

ſaith *Catullus*, *ſets at night and riſes in the morning, but when our light is once ſet, there will be for us an eternal night.* He did not believe the Reſurrection of the Dead, or elſe this ſaying is to be underſtood of the wicked only, *Cunctos mors una manet*, and therefore 'tis in vain for us to think we can perſwade or diſſwade Death, which will not be intreated upon any account.

Dilaceras crines, cælumque ululatibus imples
Mœſtaque ſanguineis unguibus ora notas,
Credis an extinctos huc poſſe revertere reges?
Flere obitum eſt addi vulnera vulneribus. Lampſ.

Stat ſua cuique dies breve & irreparabile tempus, omnibus eſt vitæ, Virg.

Prayers, Tears, Sighs, Moanings and Lamentations avail nothing, becauſe every ones dayes are numbered, and the time of every ones life is ſhort and cannot be recovered, what then ſhall we ſay to this? Firſt take the wiſe Counſel of *Seneca*, *Incertum eſt quô te loco mors expectat, itaque illam tu omni locô expecta*; 'tis uncertain at what place death waits for thee, therefore wait thou for it in every place, when men are ready for it, it doth not ſurprize thoſe who have had a ſufficient warning of it. Secondly, be ſure ſo to live, that you may not be afraid to dye, that man is in a good condition, who is not aſhamed to live nor fearful of death, How can it be otherwiſe, if within he be at peace with his conſcience, and without with God and men? He muſt need be a miſerable man who conſtantly is afraid of that which at one time or other he muſt undergo, and fear that which it is in his power not to be afraid of, which can be done;

done; if he thinks that every day he is drawing nigh Death, Judgment and Eternity, and ſo keep his accounts ready and clear, not putting it off from day to day, becauſe it is uncertain whether he ſhall ſee the next day, but certainly death is dayly hanging over his head which muſt teach him to dye to ſin, to the World, and to live to righteouſneſs, and be not deficient but proficient in the wayes of God, a great help thereunto will be, according to the advice of a Pious and Learned man, ever to be thinking upon three things paſt, three preſent, three to come, and three above us, the three paſt are evil committed, good omitted, and time loſt; the three preſent are the ſhortneſs of Life, the difficulty of Salvation, and the ſmall number of thoſe that are Saved, the three to come are Death, then the which nothing is more horrible, Judgment, then the which nothing more terrible, and the pains of Hell, then the which nothing more inſufferable: The three above us, are an all-ſeeing eye, an all-hearing ear, and an all-containing Book, theſe things ſeriouſly thought upon, and piouſly applyed, can fit a man for death, which we ought to look upon as the laſt act of life, we muſt not fear it when the hour is come, becauſe it is a duty and obligation of nature, nor wiſh for it before its hour, to the end we be not accounted like thoſe who forſake and run away from their Colours, for life no more than Rancks, muſt be left without Orders.

As the Red-Sea was the Grave which ſwallowed up *Pharoah* and his Army, but withall a paſſage for the Children of *Iſrael* to go into the Land of Promiſe, ſo to ſome death is a deſtraction, and to others an Introduction into joy and happineſs,

Seneca, *mors portus eſt malorum, perfugium ærumnoſæ vitæ, ſeneſcentes annos cum rugis flores mortis cogita, mortem fructum quietis, mors requies ærumnarum in luctu atque miſeriis eſt, cuncta mortalium mala diſſolvit.*

happineſs, one calls it well the end of evils, the Sanctuary of a troubleſom life, and a reſt of pains and afflictions. 'Tis ſo to ſome but not to all; but he could not make this diſtinction, becauſe he was ignorant of the Reſurrection, of Judgment, and of true Heaven and true Hell. Death he owns to be natural according to experience, and therefore, in vain men attempt to avoid and put it off. *Quid fles? Quid optas? Perdis operam. Deſine, fata Deûm flecti ſperare precando, rata & fixa ſunt*, &c. Why weepeſt thou? What wouldſt thou have? Thou looſeſt thy time, therefore give over hoping that Deſtiny will be moved with Prayers, 'tis ſure and fixed and led by a great and eternal neceſſity (this he ſaith according to the Principle of Stoïcians) you ſhall go the way of all men, that's no new thing to you who are born to that end, and ſubject to that Law, this hath befallen your Father, Mother, Anceſtors, all before you, as it will do all that come after you.

How fooliſh then are ſome Old men, and how miſerable their condition, who the nearer they draw to their Journeys end, the greater proviſion they make for it, their exceeding care is ſuperfluous, if any thing could prolong life and remove death farther off, I think Piety could, but ſo far from it, that it cannot ſo much as put off old Age, and much leſs wild and

Eheu fugaces poſtume poſtume labuntur anni, nec pietas moram, rigis aut inſtanti ſenectæ afferet, indomitæque morti, Hor. lib. 2. Od. 14.

and untamed caſh? What a folly then is it of thoſe who build Houſes, buy Lands, and begin many other things which they ſhall never ſee finiſhed, and are very buſie about Worldly affairs, inſtead of cauſing their Coffin to be made ready, their Grave to be digged, and other preparations for death, which is the end and not the beginning of their Journey, the Poet cenſures thoſe who are ſuch, when he ſaith,

Truditur dies die
Novæque pergunt interire lunæ;
Tu ſecunda marmora
Locas ſub ipſum funus, & Sepulchri
Immemor ſtruis domos.

He ought to conſider that all things here ſhall be left, for as man came naked into this World, ſo naked he ſhall go out of it: Remember the Rich man in the Goſpel, who ſaid to his ſoul, be joyful and merry, for ſo many things are provided for thee, but it was ſaid to him, thou Fool, this night ſhall thy ſoul be asked from thee, and whoſe ſhall be all theſe things? Lands are to be left, Houſes, loving Wife, and of all the Trees thou haſt, none but few twigs of Cypreſs ſhall follow their Maſter: Out of this conſideration, the wiſe man is not afflicted with the loſs of his Children or Friends, for he bears their death with the ſame mind as he expects his own, which at one time or other will be the lot of all men. But more particularly to reaſon upon this, 'tis much to be admired how men, as ſoon as they

Seneca *Scilicet omne ſacrum mors importuna prophanat, omnibus obſcuras, injicit illa manus*, Ovid.

they come to know what they do, embrace ſeveral profeſſions, according as they are led by inclination, which often hath no rational ground, only fancy, or forced by neceſſity, they ſo much apply themſelves to theſe particular employments, that they wholly neglect the general profeſſion and common trade which all men are to follow, namely to be men and live accordingly, this is the moſt important of all the reſt, for it contains and rules them all, they being good or evil, profitable or hurtful, according as they are ſuitable or contrary to the duties of that common condition, which may be reduced to theſe two, to live and dye well, to live is to go forward towards death, but to dye, is to enter either into eternal life, or elſe from natural death to paſs into an everlaſting one; hence 'tis to be ſeen how to live well, is to go towards the door of death, which leads to an endleſs felicity, and to live ill, is to follow the way which leads into eternal miſery.

All other wayes fall into theſe two, and as every one which leads into everlaſting miſery, is wrong and unfortunate, though 'twere never ſo ſmooth and pleaſant, is to be avoided, ſo that which ends in eternal happineſs is right, good and to be followed, though it were full of thornes and difficulties, being to be lookt upon according to what they are in their end: However 'tis not ſmoothneſs or roughneſs which make a difference between theſe different wayes, it being certain that in every one of them are goods and evils, Roſes and Thornes, ſo that though men would conſider nothing herein (as commonly they do) but pleaſures and croſſes, they would have much

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ado to chuſe, it being certain, contrary to the common opinion, that good and evil men have much to ſuffer in this World outwardly or inwardly, thorough oppreſſion or Juſtice.

Therefore the wayes ſhould be choſen or rejected, not for any thing in themſelves, but becauſe of the end they lead to, whether happineſs or miſery, it being uſual with Travellers, to inquire about the way that leads to the place they have a mind to go to, and not to ask about Coaches, Horſes, Boats and the like conveniencies, and care not to be informed of the place any of theſe things will carry them to, yet this is the caſe, that although in this kind of Travels, none be ſo imprudent or rather ſo diſtracted as to commit ſuch a fault, yet 'tis very common with men in the general Journey of their life, all are marching towards death, natural neceſſity allowing them no leave to make any ſtay, they know the two ends which this life leads them to, whereof one is ſo terrible, the other ſo deſirable; yet they ſo much mind every other thing, make proviſions to ſupply the neceſſities of their Journey, and are inquiſitive about the conveniencies of it, yet ſo careleſs about the way, that they no wayes ſeek to find the beſt, and ſeem neither to walk for pleaſure nor travel for buſineſs.

If men were asked where they are going, all would unanimouſly anſwer, to Death and Eternity, which every ſtep brings them nearer to, it being much uncertain how ſoon they may happen to arrive to it: but if one would farther inquire, Why they have choſen ſuch a way rather than another, and what Rules they walk by? they would ſoon be at a loſs, and able to give no good

account of it, having made no ſerious reflection upon it, only upon ſlight grounds as may be hearing ſay, a cuſtom or a raſh and haſty reſolution inconſiderately taken. The manner how men are drawn away by the examples and diſcourſes of others is eaſily known, but 'tis more difficult to find out how they conform themſelves to their paſſions, which falls out thus: Such is the frame of humane nature, that the will receives nothing offered by the mind, except under the notion of ſome good, ſo that in this reſpect men are ſomewhat obliged to follow the guiding of reaſon, and though pleaſure often draws them to do things repugnant to reaſon, that cannot laſt, nor even fall out very often, becauſe ſuch a controlling of reaſon by the affections is too inconvenient, and hard to be ſuffered, ſo that to make their life comfortable, ſome way is to be found out how to make them agree, the more becauſe of the eſteem and love they bear to themſelves, to which a perpetual debate and diſſent is very contrary.

Wherefore they endeavor to bring reaſon to condeſcend with their paſſions, with making her frame to her ſelf certain Maxims or Rules conformable thereunto, and according to which ſhe may approve of their actions; by theſe means, Peace is ſettled between their thoughts and actions, ſo that their will ever follows the dictate of the intellect, which preſcribes nothing but what the will is deſirous of, whence they frame to themſelves a ſtrange Model of Morality, wherewith their imagination is ſatisfied, this is an effect and a ſign of their folly whereby they betray themſelves to their imagination and unregularities. Out of ſuch Principles can come nothing but that which

which is very corrupt, therefore theſe tricks and fancies are the Model of the choice they make of the way which leads either to eternal death or everlaſting life: and as there are many diſorderly lives, ſo every Nation and almoſt every man hath a Model to himſelf of that manner of life he leads, which is alſo to be ſeen in ſeveral profeſſions, for the Maxims of Magiſtrates, Gentlemen, Soldiers, Merchants, Tradeſmen, *&c.* are oftentimes different one from another, yet are obſerved by them, even as we ſee in the moſt unregular kinds of life of Pirates, High-way-men, who have certain rules to their manner of life, which they ſubmit and yield obedience unto. That which moſt of all is to be wondered at, is the mixture, confuſedneſs and inconſiſtancy of the rules of conduct, which particular men have thus framed to themſelves, without taking the pains to examine truth from falſehood, right from wrong, and with the greateſt temerity in the World, embracing things without diſcernment, and then obſtinately ſticking to it, as if they were Divine Oracles and unfallible truths.

The queſtion is not about a ſmall matter, 'tis as important as any that can fall under conſideration, ſince 'tis about an eternity of felicity or miſery: every ſtep they go towards death, brings them nearer to one of theſe two Eternities, Who then would not think that their chief care is, or ought to be, how to know the true rules they muſt follow thoroughout the whole courſe of their life, and diſcern ſuch an infinite number of thoſe wrong ones which ſo many go after? they ſhould give great heed and application hereunto, the more becauſe of the difficulties there are to find

out the true way to life, which men do much disagree about, if it was visible and easie to be found, all men would be drawn to it with its brightness; and though some men were found out so unreasonable as to refuse to walk therein, none would be so blind as to mistake it; nevertheless to be instructed in it, is the thing they mind least of all, and usually without any examination, entertain the first Maxims they received, as if first Impressions were ever the best, and first opinions truest and most Infallible, as it is particularly seen in matter of Religion, which is a thing of the greatest concernment in the World, for those who are in the Heathenish, Mahumetanish and other false ones, cry out their Antiquity, the Religion of the Fathers, which suppose I would grant had at first some good things in them, yet have been subject to so many corruptions, and have been so much adulterated, so pieced and patched from time to time, that 'tis clear another thing, such are all those different from, or contrary to Christian Religion, which are inventions of fancies and Dreams, dressed in as ridiculous a garb as can be conceived, so far from being grounded upon Divine Principles or reason at least, that whatsoever is written concerning them, destroyes and convinces them of vanity, folly and falsehood.

Ask them, why they follow such a Religion? they will answer, because 'twas their Fathers, 'tis their Friends, but according to this there shall be no false Religion in any parts, provided it be that of the Country: but the Christian Religion which is the only true in the World, abounds in other proofs, and gives clear and sound grounds

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of her author, progreſs, perfection and purity. Yet I confeſs, 'tis too true ſome are Chriſtians in the ſame way as Turks are Turks, meerly by example, without any particular Divine Application within the heart, and ſound knowledge in the underſtanding. But as 'tis true in general, that the rule of manners amongſt Chriſtians, is ſolid in the Principle derived from that Divine Religion, 'tis alſo true, it is very ſtrange and hath little ſolidity within the minds of many, who bear that name for want of being inſtructed in the grounds of that Religion: They allow themſelves liberty to fancy ſome other rules after the manner of other men: The Principles derived from Chriſtian Religion, make a very ſmall and inconſiderable part of their morality, which is framed of many things taken up without examination, ſuch are the example of Friends, diſcourſes heard in Company, ſelf-love, conceit, pride and ambition, and ſeveral other things taken upon truſt ariſing out of imagination, the mixture of all this produces a ſtrange new-fangled morality, which tends to pleaſe fancy and paſſion more than reaſon or conſcience, and is often as bad and diſorderly as that of Infidels and Mahometans, there being nothing of the word of God, which is the true rule of Religion and morality, nor of the Holy Ghoſt the chief actor, mover, counſellor and applier of theſe rules.

In every thing elſe they will take Maſters, and ask direction, and carefully apply themſelves to it, the only ſcience how to live they neither know, nor deſire to learn, or if they do, 'tis ſo ſlightly and perfunctoriouſly, that it ſeems 'tis not worth their pains; they are very nice in the choice of

Phyſitians, Lawyers and Tradeſmen, and are afraid of being cheated in the leaſt things, but they miſtruſt nothing in the great buſineſs of eternal Salvation or damnation, any guide is good enough for them, the firſt they meet with can ſerve their turn, they wholly rely upon ſuch a one, and will no further inquire about him or it, and ſometimes they will have none at all; ſo they engage in a Journey for life or death, joyned to eternity without good inſtructions, and no other directions than what proceeds from the ſuggeſtions of fancy. Where is the fear they ſhould have of going aſtray, of taking the wrong way, and the care they ought to take and make it their chief buſineſs to find it? Where are thoſe who miſtruſt their own skill and forces, who walk with fear and trembling, are watchful of their ſteps and look well where to ſet their foot? Without queſtion the number of ſuch is very ſmall, for few are righteous and few are choſen. The generality of the World goeth without fear, miſtruſt, prudence and conſideration, and with the greateſt ſecurity in the World, raſhly following their paſſions and fancies, they haſten towards death, which alone is able to open their eyes, and make them ſee what they would or could not all their life time, but all in vain, it being too late, there being no time of repentance allowed, no going back, no remedy, they can behold nothing but their error, miſtake and miſery.

As our life is but a Journey, ſo when I think on theſe wandrings of moſt men, I conceive to ſee an Iſland edged about with Rocks and Precipices, with a dark and thick Fog upon it, and compaſſed with a ſwift River of Fire and Brimſtone, which

which receives all thoſe that fall into it from the edge of thoſe Precipices: All the wayes but one, tend to theſe Precipices, and that ſingle way is very narrow, hard to be found and known, which tends to a Bridge, over which one eſcapes the danger of the Fiery River and comes to a place of ſafety, the People in this Iſland is haſtned continually to march, and a ſtrong wind blows them forward, only they are warned, that all wayes but one hard to be known, lead to the Precipices, but for all this warning, thoſe wretches not minding either the adviſe or danger, and without asking any farther information about that happy way, do raſhly go on, and take no other care but to get an Equipage, take what pleaſures they can as they go by, and how to domineer over their Fellow-travellers, ſo that unawares they come to the edge of the Precipice, whence they are hurried away with the Fiery Torrent which ſwallows them up for ever. Only there are few wiſe men who are careful to find out the narrow way and walk therein with much warineſs, till all dangers being paſſed, they arrive at laſt to a place of reſt and ſafety.

This Compariſon comes very ſhort of what I intend thereby to repreſent, for Spiritual things are ſo high, that no imagination can conceive them, and the reality goes much beyond the conception of it, and there is no proportion between the Rocks and Precipices of this imaginary Iſland, and the dangers and temptations of this World, nor between the River of Fire and Brimſtone and Hell, which thorough death receives thoſe who go out of this World, after they are gone from the way of righteouſneſs. This I might illuſtrate

illuſtrate with another compariſon of men ſtanding upon Ice when 'tis dark, and are cloſe purſued by Enemies, but the other repreſentation, though never ſo unperfect, is ſufficient to ſhew, that the only wiſdom of theſe Travellers would be, to ſeek out after the way thorough which they could ſave their life, and that it would be their happineſs to find and walk in it to the end, and that whoſoever would not labor to find it out, would be mad and unhappy. This alſo can ſhew, how all the curioſity they can have for other things, their eagerneſs to find out pleaſures, and their ambition to Lord it over their Companions, would prove not only vain and ridiculous, but alſo full of danger and pernicious. What then can be thought of the blindneſs of men, who are ſo careleſs to enquire after the way of Salvation, who live and walk at a venture, and who entertain no other thoughts, than how to take their ſenſual pleaſures in their Journey to Eternity.

Therefore to withdraw men from this madneſs, and make them come to themſelves, for ſo the Goſpel ſpeaks of the Prodigal Son, who after this rate had loſt his wits when he runned into that debauched courſe of life, whereby he and they, according to the imaginations of their evil heart, do run headlong into Hell, God doth ſo earneſtly exhort them in Scriptures to hear Wiſdom and follow her Counſel, to ſeek after it as after a hidden treaſure, to make it their good Inheritance and Treaſure, becauſe it guides in darkneſs, and regulates their actions according to righteouſneſs and the law of God, it doth wholly conſiſt

Proverb 1.

ſiſt in the knowledge of the true way to Heaven, wherefore it is called the knowledge of Salvation, which alone is able to lead us to it, all the reſt being but Sciences of death when they are aſunder from this. This indeed is the true Science of men to know the way of Peace, of Heaven, and of Salvation, their happineſs conſiſts in the getting of it, but the way to get, is to value it as much as it deſerves, for the pleaſure of God is, that this Wiſdom ſo neceſſary to man, ſhould, according to its nature, depend from their heart more than from their mind, and that as 'tis not found by thoſe who do not deſire it, at leaſt as it ought to be deſired, they who ſeek for it with their whole heart, ſhould be ſure to find it. So that the greateſt ſtep towards wiſdom, is to deſire and ſincerely ſeek after it, and know how dangerous it is to walk in the devices, and follow the imaginations of his evil heart, not knowing where he goes: therefore one ought to wean himſelf of many worldly thoughts and cares which take up our mind and affections,

On the other ſide one ought never to be at reſt, till he hath found the right way, but without the grace of God, we cannot in earneſt go about it, he muſt open our eyes to make us know it, order our ſteps to make us walk therein, without turning on the right or left hands, to preſerve us from the power of the ſmiles and frowns of the World, and let us hear a voice behind us, ſaying, this is the way, walk ye in it, this ſhould be the chief end of men, without being taken off by any affairs or Worldly employments, this a Gentleman and any man alſe ought to be mindful of at all times and in all places, whether he is abroad or at home,

home, ſetled or unſetled, Batchellor or Maſter of a Family, whether he leads a publick or a private life, wherein this laſt hath this advantage over the former, that he meets with leſs diverſions, is expoſed to fewer temptations, enjoyes himſelf the better, and hath more time to ſeek after grace, fit and prepare himſelf for Glory and Eternity.

F I N I S.

Concerning the

STATESMAN,

Or him who is in

Publick Employments.

Being the laſt Part of the

INSTITUTION

OF

YOUTH.

By *J. GAILHARD*, Gent.

Ο᾽ χρήπιμ᾽ εἰδὼς ἀλλ᾽ ὠ πολλ᾽ εἰδὼς σοφός.
Qui fructuoſa non qui multa ſcit, ſapit.
Æſchylus.

LONDON,
Printed by *T. H.* in the Year, 1681.

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

Sir Joſeph Williamſon,

One of His Majeſties Principal Secretaries of State.

Right Honorable,

THE Choice which Princes make of Perſons fit to be their Miniſters, to lay on them part of the weight of the Government, is one of the moſt important actions of their life, one of the greateſt marks of their wiſdom, and one of the chief cauſes of the happineſs of their People.

As 'tis uſual with God, when he intends to do a work, to fit Inſtruments for it, ſo the longer he is a preparing of them, the more conſiderable muſt the work be ſuppoſed to be, which he appointeth them for; the like we may ſay of Kings his Vicegerents, who having once ſingled out a Perſon, when they give a ſufficient time to perfect and conſummate himſelf in the management of affairs, muſt propound to themſelves, from him to receive a great aſſiſtance thorough the whole courſe of their Government.

This, *Right Honorable*, hath been the method obſerved in your riſing to the high Place you are now ſeated in: No man can ſay, your Elevation to be any effect of a capricious Fortune, or of a blind favour,

vour, but all are agreed, it is but a Juſtice rendered to your Vertue and Merit, the fruit of ſeveral years trial and experience, and the reward of long Services to King and State.

No ſooner hath the Nation ſeen your motion out of your Orb, but preſently beyond Seas you appeared like a bright Star, and upon a ſecond motion, entruſted (upon a very important conjuncture) with the whole intereſt of theſe three Nations, you were at *Colen* ſeen yet more ſhining and Glorious, till at your return, thorough His Majeſty's moſt judicious choice, you were here fixed, to have good and wholeſome influences in the Firmament of the State: 'tis nothing but what the Publick voice had given you before, wherein we have ſeen a perfect harmony of the King's Election,

with the deſires and general applauſe of his peop'e.

The felicity of your Miniſtery, hath already taught Forreign Nations, a neceſſity of ſuing for His Majeſties Friendſhip and Alliance, ſo that we ſee here the moſt conſiderable Princes and States of *Europe*, by means of their Ambaſſadors, to be Rivals in the purſuit of it.

I hope your Honor will be pleaſed to excuſe the liberty I take, to appear out of the Croud, though ſomewhat late, by reaſon of my long abſence out of *England*, or ſhort ſtay in it, to expreſs with the publick my particular joy about it, and to lay at your feet my Stateſman, there to learn the Practice of Politick Vertues, inſtead of the bare Notions it hath gotten of it, being ſure I could bring it to no better

Sanctu-

Sanctuary. I confeſs it is eaſier to ſay much than to do little, and may be with ſome it will be accounted a great preſumption in me, either to meddle with ſuch a ſubject, or to expoſe my Obſervations upon it, to the immediate cenſure of ſo clear ſighted, and ſo Intelligent a Judge as your Honor is: yet let my doom be what it will, I ever will account it to be happy, if I may but obtain leave to declare, how with all imaginable reſpect, I am

Right Honorable,

Your moſt humble and

Moſt obedient Servant,

J. Gailhard.

THE

PREFACE.

WITTI *and judicious* Horace, *told plainly his Friend* Pollio, *concerning his deſign of Writing the Civil Wars of his time,*

Periculoſæ plenum opus aleæ
Tractas, & incedis per ignes
Suppoſitos cineri doloſo.

For there are ſome ſubjects which 'tis dangerous to meddle with, and if any be ſuch, aſſuredly it is that about State-affairs. Authority as well as an extream Love, is ever attended with diſquietneſs and jealouſie, which cannot endure not only to ſee the real cauſes, but alſo the very appearances of it: One who is paſſionately in love, cannot abide, at leaſt without trouble of mind, to ſee another whom he ſuſpecteth to have the ſame pretenſions he hath, to fix his eyes upon the object of his love; ſo he who is poſſeſſed with the ſupream

Authority, or who acts next under it, hates that any one should look, inquire, dive into, or any wayes meddle with it.

Yet this is the subject of my following discourse: but it being but a part of my whole design (which without it had been very imperfect,) I could not avoid setting it in its due place, out of that dependency it hath upon what I have written before. I am careful of what I say, and bring nothing but that which becomes good Princes and Loyal Subjects, only all my trouble is, that I cannot afford a Discourse answerable to the Subject, my mean capacity and the little experience I have of things of that nature obstructing my desires, and keeping me from approaching near the doors within which those secrets lay enclosed. And though one could dive farther into these things, it would not be well to attempt unvailing that which 'tis not fit should be exposed to sight, nor to reveal those Mysteries which Statesmen desire and strive to have concealed. Yet I conceived it necessary for a Gentleman to have some knowledge of the affairs of his Country and of others, as not being unpossible for him who hath Birth, Estate and Parts, at one time or other to have a hand in the Government; besides that, I account it worthy of a Gentleman to be Universal, and if possible, of every thing to know some-

ſomething, and this makes me meddle with that matter.

To repreſent well a matter, one is to have a perfect Idea of it, and his mind as it were, transformed into it (hence it is that amongſt Players, thoſe are the beſt Actors, who have the beſt Imagination) but thoſe Ideas *are not formed with bare notions or ſpeculations, ſo much as with a continual obſervation of events, and a fixed Application to know their cauſes; for the art of Politicks conſiſts in Practice more than in Theory, therefore Stateſmen themſelves are the fitteſt to ſpeak of State-affairs, having the Practical part thereof, and being the Wheels which the Great Mobile of the World ſets at work. Thoſe who are remote from theſe things, have hardly a ſuperficial knowledge of what others do thoroughly underſtand, they have but the crums of others, which grounds and conſiderations muſt curb their forwardneſs to meddle too far in things of that nature.*

It is an eaſie thing to give general Maxims of the Government of States and Empires, and common Rules of that Adminiſtration: This ſeveral have done, as making good and ſound Laws of Juſtice, Clemency and Prudence in Princes, how to uſe ſuitably theſe Vertues, ſo of obedience and other general qualifications in Subjects, yet this knowledge,

except

except it be ſeaſonably made uſe of, is of no advantage. Thus we ſee the ableſt Phyſitians ſometimes cannot keep themſelves from falling Sick; but the great difficulty is, to underſtand that which Dio, Tacitus, *and other Ancient Authors call* Arcana Imperii, *Secrets of Government, theſe few underſtand, and fewer have written of; it is of this as of the River* Nilus, *for as thoſe who are near to it do thereby receive many advantages, yet know not (at leaſt formerly knew not) the Spring of it, ſo the Subjects of great Stateſmen enjoy and admire at the benefits they receive under their Government, and yet are not acquainted with the proper cauſes and Springs whence theſe advantages come to them.*

Theſe are beyond their reach, to know the proper and particular cauſes of the raiſing and fall of Empires, and why amidſt many proſperities, a State ſhall not thrive nor ſink under great Adverſities, theſe hidden myſteries are as water conveyed thorough Pipes, we know it paſſes there and runs thorough, but we do not ſee it, neither is it perceptible to our eyes, that cannot penetrate thorough Earth and Lead which hide it from our ſight, ſo that which we call properly Secrets of State, is formed in the ſecreteſt Cloſets of Princes, ſuch matters are not debated upon in great Councils,

Counsils, States General or Parliaments. As we see Augustus *after his full Victory, did not ask the advice of the Senate, though he had increased it of six hundred Senators, but in a private place he only called for* Mecenas *and* Agrippa, *to ask their advice, whether he should keep the Supream Authority, or resign it to the Senate and People to whom it belonged before, and not only upon this, but upon every other important occasions he did so,* Quibuscum imperii arcana communicare solebat, *saith* Dio. *He followed the steps of* Julius Cesar, *who imparted the Secrets of his affairs only to* Quintus Pædius *and* Cornelius Balbus *related by* Suetonius. Thorough fraud and deceit, *saith* Aristotle, Kingdoms are overthrown, *and without doubt, sometimes they are preserved thorough the same wayes; now the contriving and managing of these frauds and deceits, are the bad part of what I call Secrets of State, so hard to be found out by those who are not the actors thereof.*

What I have said of those refined hidden rules of Government, may be spoken of the select qualifications necessary to those Ministers who are to put these rules in practice, namely, that they are scarce and hard to be found and known, the strength of mind is not the least, by which I mean a frame and dispo-

diſpoſition alwayes alike in it ſelf, fixed, conſtant, heroical and capable to hear, to ſee and do all without ſurpriſal or amazement and diſturbance, which frame may be gotten by a continual conſideration of the weakneſs of our nature ſubject to ſo many accidents and infirmities, of the vanity of Worldly Pomps, of the change and revolutions of affairs, of the diverſity of Opinions, Religions, and of the ſhort laſting of all things, this Juvenal *hath made a fair deſcription of,* Satyr. 10. Ask, *ſaith he,* a ſtrong mind free from the terrors of death, and looking on death as a favour of nature, able to bear all ſorrows, uncapable of being angry, deſirous of nothing, and preferring hardſhip and the very labors of *Hercules,* before the pleaſures of the Table and Bed of *Sardanapalus.*

I name one Quality more, commonly ſpoken of, but hardly found true, and really ſuch as ought to be, 'tis Prudence. As leſs numbers are comprehended in great ones, ſo the great vertue, Prudence, contains all inferior ones, wherefore the Poet ſaith well, Satyr. 10.

Nullum numen abeſt ſi ſit prudentia.

But as to form Gold the King of Metals, ſeveral things do concur, as the preparation of the matter, the diſpoſition of the earth, the heat

heat of the Sun and time; ſo this Queen of Political Vertues, Prudence, is the production of ſeveral joynt cauſes, as quickneſs of mind, ſolidity of judgment, ſtrength of reaſon, docility and tractableneſs, inſtructions received from great men, ſtudy of Sciences, knowledge of Hiſtory, a happy memory of things paſt, all theſe are diſpoſitions to it, as the knowledg and conſideration of circumſtances, the foreſight of effects, forecaſt againſt lets and hinderances, and a quick expedition are the effects of it, with the peace and reſt of people, the preſervation of States, and the common good of men: this helpeth Stateſmen to know the intereſt and diſtempers of States, with their cares whether inward or outward, near or remote, general or particular, Principal or acceſſary.

OF THE STATESMAN, OR OF Publick Employments.

THERE is a great conformity between the natural and Politick Bodies, for as one hath not only the Organs of Senſes to See, Hear, Feel, Smell and Taſte, but alſo the natural faculties of making digeſtion of what is in the ſtomack, expelling and driving out that which is ſuperfluous, and would prove a burthen to nature, retaining and keeping that which is good and neceſſary, and then conveying it to the appointed places for the nouriſhment of the whole Body: So the other hath thoſe members who do the like Offices, and work for, overſee, promote, remove hinderances, take care of the preſervation and ſubſiſtance, and in one word, exerciſe all other functions tending to the good of the whole.

This

This comparison is obvious, easie, proper, and was once made use of upon a most important occasion, when after a great falling-out between the Senate and the People of *Rome*, this last being withdrawn from the other, and drawn into a Body with strange designs, *Menenius Agrippa* very successfully with reasons taken from the natural body, brought them to an agreement and reconciliation. Out of this also the Apostle St. *Paul* shews the different Offices of the many Members of one Mystical Body of Christ; for as one Body hath many Members with several Offices assigned to every one, so none is to be slighted, envyed or intruded upon, there being none but what is necessary and for the good of the whole, head, hands, feet, *&c.* being concerned in the mutual preservation one of the other.

1 *Cor.* 12.

The Politick Body cannot subsist, except there are those who exercise the several Charges and Offices essential to it as such, or else accidental, yet so as (after the consideration of order, decency, conveniency or the like) have been approved of and setled, and though this and the wayes of it be different, according to the several tempers of Nations, yet it is necessary to have something of it in every one; there is never a Body but some Vital Functions must be Administered, if men have a mind to keep it alive and preserve it: and seeing there is a necessity it should be done, there must be those who are able to Administer it, which by them being undertaken after a lawful call thereunto, they ought to make it their business, and give their whole Application to it.

Hence

Hence is clearly ſeen, how in a Nation, all cannot be in one and the ſame Station, but there ought to be different degrees and employments, ſuch a variety contributing much to the peace, perfection and unity of it, and as one muſt abſtain from intruding of his own and private Authority into theſe places, ſo when he hath a lawful calling to them, he muſt anſwer and obey it, which to refuſe, is to be diſobedient and wanting to his duty. Though this rule be Univerſally true, *men are born for others more than for themſelves*, yet particularly it is true of ſome more than of others, this variety of cauſes and means, concurring to one and the ſame end, is an undeniable effect of Gods power and wiſdom, which every man in his place will do well to be ſubſervient unto, and as we are commanded to ſubmit to Government, it neceſſarily follows, there are thoſe who govern, and others who are governed, inſomuch that every one cannot live a private and a retired life, but ſome are called to lead a Publick one, therefore as already I have ſpoken of one, 'tis now time for me to diſcourſe upon the other.

Man being a ſociable Creature, out of a natural inſtinct and right, is deſirous of a Society with thoſe of his kind, which Society conſiſts in an union amongſt themſelves, and in a free and unanimous ſubmiſſion to certain Laws and Rules whereby to be governed: Hence ariſeth a common and National intereſt, diſtinguiſhing them from others who are not in the ſame Society, whence reſults that which is called Commonwealth, a name proper for all manner of Governments, under what name ſoever expreſſed, this

men are taught to do by nature. Hence it is that there is no temper ſo wild and ſo Barbarous, but more or leſs have ſubmitted to one kind of order ſetled amongſt them, the Wildeſt *Indians* being not without their Kings, Princes and Leaders, there is a common end of them all, tending to a Publick good and preſervation of the whole.

In every ſort of Government the Supream Authority doth reſide in one or other, when 'tis in a ſingle Perſon they call it *Monarchy*, of which ſome are Elective, others Succeſſive, and of this laſt, ſome are tyed to Laws, and bound with certain Rules, and others more Arbitrary, have a larger extent of Power, ſpecially thoſe which are gotten by way of Conqueſt, for Conquerors will be bound by no Laws but what is of their own making. When the Authority reſides in many, 'tis either in the Nobility and the Chief, and ſo 'tis called *Ariſtocracy*, ſuch is the *Venetian* Republick, or in the People as in *Holland*, and then it is *Democracy*. All beſides this is nothing but Anarchy and Confuſion, or Oligarchy the Government of few.

As of all Governments Monarchy is the moſt excellent, ſo of all Monarchies the *Engliſh* is beſt tempered of any, for in it the King hath his Prerogative, the Nobility their Priviledges, and the People their Liberty, this makes the Nation ſo conſiderable, becauſe when any thing is to be done for the Publick good, all ſet hands together, being univerſally concerned, which is not ſo when the Nobility works wholly for the King and not for themſelves, or the People doth all for them both, and nothing for himſelf, for want of encouragement he is ſlack and loth any wayes

to

to make their Authority the greater, for fear his liberty ſhould become the leſſer; intereſt makes men act, and when the Rulers and the Peoples are but one and the ſame, it will more vigorouſly be carried on, the Power of Princes conſiſting in nothing ſo much as in the love and affection of their Subjects, who ever give Purſes, Hands and Blood along with their Hearts. On the contrary, the diſcontents and grievances of Subjects do much weaken the Princes Power within and without, and makes the matter ſo combuſtible, that almoſt any ſparkle of fire will ſet all in a flame: A Town beſieged, a Battel loſt, a riſing in any corner of the State, cannot only ſhake, but alſo venture to tumble him down from the Throne.

Kings and Princes uſually act not themſelves, but by the means of their Miniſters and Officers, to whom they communicate part of their Authority, which as it is derived from the Soveraign, ſo it ever depends upon, and is ſubordinate to it. Thoſe Princes who are pleaſed ſometimes to be preſent when the lives of ſome of their Subjects are tryed, or to hear grievances, lay a great obligation on their Subjects. But they who will not take that trouble, will do well to appoint thoſe who are capable, diligent and faithful in the doing of it; This Authority is ſo powerful as to be extended to the utmoſt corners of their Dominions, whether to Vice-Royes, Governors, Deputies, Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, and others Publick Charges, by what name ſoever expreſſed, whether by Land or by Sea. Of all theſe there are ſeveral degrees, ſome living in the Country, others in a more Publick capacity, and upon ex-

traordinary occaſions attending in Parliament, (a truſt of high concernment which a Gentleman of intereſt, capacity and probity, will do well to ſtand for in his Country, when there is a fair opportunity, this being an excellent School, to learn in the moſt important concerns and tranſactions of the Nation) all theſe ſtand candidate for the greateſt places.

Others to have greater ſhare in the influences of the Soveraign, draw nearer to him, for they think the nearer they are, the more to receive of his favors, for following the Court they are conſtantly under his eye; more heat, light and comfort being derived on them from the Throne: Theſe ſometimes do ſucceed and ſometimes not, for this depends upon a great variety of circumſtances and accidents, the Court is the ſeat of favors and of diſgraces, it ſmiles and frowns, 'tis the Stage of good and bad accidents, as ſoon as one gets up the wheel, there are twenty to pull him back, this is a Sea full of Storms, and where often a Calm proves pernicious, however ſome muſt venture, and, as we ſay, try their Fortune.

Turpe ſenex miles, turpe ſenilis amor.

There is a certain time for a man to ſeek for his Fortune at Court, which being paſt and a Courtier grown Old, he is as ridiculous to look for it as an old Gallant (Fortune and Women love young People) for both deſire Charges and Favours, whereof the work is beyond their ſtrength, ſo that when the time of both is once over, 'tis a folly for them to pretend to it; yet in this the Court is good, that though he who follows it, doth not obtain his aim,

aim, at leaſt it doth Poliſh and Civilize him.

The common Vices of the Court are Vanity, Mockery, Diſſembling, Ambition, Envying, with Luxury: Vanity is properly a weakneſs of the Soul, which hinders from keeping within us the good opinion we have of our ſelves, whether the ſatisfaction we receive thereat, be too great for the narrowneſs of the Veſſel that contains it, or elſe that the ſame be ſo weak, that it muſt need break to let it out, Gallantry or Bravery are the uſual ſubject of this Vanity: When a man hath done a brave action, he is afraid leſt others be not acquainted with it, ſo he values it according to what it coſts him, and not according to what it is worth, wherefore there is more vanity in low and petty Souls, than in great ones and of a Superior Orb.

It is neceſſary for thoſe who follow the Court with deſigns of raiſing themſelves, to be known to the Favourites, and though men ſometimes do not eſteem them, yet they ought to be reſpected by reaſon of the Prince who hath choſen them, either to aſſiſt him to bear the weight of the State, or to be his Confidents; or to ſhare in his Pleaſures, or meerly to raiſe and make them great; for Princes who are the Image of God, do after his example, and within the compaſs of their Power, delight to make Creatures. The Favourites of the firſt ſort, are above all to be reſpected, becauſe of the help and benefit which the Prince and State reap from their Service and Miniſtry: One muſt (if poſſible) endeavor to be known to them, for by their means chiefly and almoſt only, one is

Theſe are the Favorites for buſineſs, and the neceſſary men.

taken notice of by the Soveraign, and at their commendation is preferred to the management of Affairs, and as he is by them informed of the capacity of Perſons, ſo thorough them and by their means he conveys his Graces and Favors to them. With theſe one is diſcreetly to keep at a convenient diſtance, not to draw too often or too near them, for fear of becoming troubleſome, thus one doth himſelf more harm than good; but withall one is not to ſtand too far off, or too ſeldom ſee them, for fear of being clear out of their ſight and mind, for this being indifferent diſobliges them; all great men love to be courted with reſpect and diſcretion.

As for the Favorites of Pleaſure, though they be not of the ſame weight and conſideration as others, yet very often they are like Pipes thorough which the Prince doth convey his Favors, and as to divert his Soveraign, one muſt be a man of Wit and Parts, for that reaſon and of Friendſhip, (as 'tis called between equals, or favour between Superiors and Inferiors) one muſt not be wanting in his reſpect for them, becauſe in a ſpecial manner the Prince's Image is ſtamped on them, and commonly for that reaſon, reſents the ſlight and contempt ſhewed them; and the vanity of not reſpecting Favorites, is neither honeſt nor profitable rather impertinent, yet more or leſs according as a mans deſigns lay, or the conſtitution of the Court he lives at. 'Tis Prudence not to condemn what we cannot alter, at leaſt if I condemn it in my heart, I muſt make ſure of my Tongue, and though we ſhould happen, not altogether to like their Perſons or approve of their actions, yet ſomething muſt be yielded to time whereof the

motion

motion is ſo ſwift, that like a torrent it will carry one away with the reſt, and there is never no profit nor pleaſure to oppoſe or condemn that which others do, when at laſt we are forced to do as they, but I mean that compliance which is free from Vice and from Crime, like a Ruſh one may bow and yield, without growing crooked, and then riſe and come to his firſt poſture, when the blaſt or wind is over; 'tis not well to be too ſtiff and ſtubborn, though men do think their honor and credit to be ſomewhat concerned: It is of Honor as of Religion, every one hath his ſcruples, and 'tis hard to behave himſelf in either, without ſomething of Superſtition or Moroſity, which is to be corrected chiefly when 'tis natural; there is more of preſumption than of judgment, not to follow an univerſal practiſe in indifferent things, follow the mode in Cloaths and the like, in caſe it be not too inconvenient, be neat and cleanly, but do not beſtow too much time upon it, for ſome is alſo to be allowed for the ornament and ſatisfaction of the ſoul. But leſt this ſhould draw me farther into diſcourſe, which though proper for the Court, yet not altogether for my purpoſe. I ſay 'tis the duty if not the intereſt of thoſe who live in Courts, though they do not love nor eſteem the Favorites to have a reſpect for them.

Now to come to the chief point, every Government hath four Parts, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, Military, and Political, wherein the other three are virtually included, for whereſoever is a form of Government, there is proviſion made for all theſe; and though Religion hath ſome particular object, yet with the reſt it concurs to the preſervation of the State, and herein they all have a

common end, ſo that certainly there is no poſſibility for a Government to ſubſiſt very long, where any of theſe are wanting. When I affirm they do agree and tend to this common end, I do not deny but that they differ between themſelves, inaſmuch as they are about different things, they are different ſtreams coming from the ſame Spring and tending to the ſame Center, there is an eſſential and generical Principle to all four, like ſo many Branches from one Tree, yet are all reduced to one Government, wherefore they are eſſential and neceſſary parts, and more generally may be divided into Spiritual and Secular.

But I ſtand to my firſt Diviſion, and begin with the Eccleſiaſtical, whereby I underſtand not ſo much a form of Church-Government, as all matters of Religion and Divine Worſhip: Theſe muſt be the Foundation of all Governments, and the true Pillars of a State, this makes Kingdoms to ſubſiſt, ſince, as Scripture ſaith, the World ſtands only for the Elect's ſake, and as ſoon as their number is compleat, there will be an end of it. Religion is naturally ſo printed in the heart of men, that there was never a Nation, howſoever wild and Barbarous, but had ſome ſence and form of it, and had thoſe who ſee the Offices thereof performed by ſome men choſen and appointed to that effect, as the *Brachmanes* of the *Indians*, the *Gymnoſophiſts* of the *Æthiopians*, the *Druydes* of ſome *European* Nations, and of others under different names, can witneſs. And amongſt thoſe who have no knowledge of the true God, the Devil hath intruded himſelf to be Worſhipped as God, ſo that rather than to be without God and Religion, they have made Creatures, the Sun,

Moon,

Moon, *&c.* in Heaven, others on Earth, in the Seas the object of their adoration and Idolatry.

Seeing there is naturally ſuch a diſpoſition in men, they who are willing to keep many of them in order, ſubjection and under rules, muſt be ſure to ſettle Religion in their Dominions, which hath great and powerful influences upon the Spirits of People, and makes them obedient to Authority, which ſhews the neceſſity of it in States; hence it is that thoſe who had not the knowledge of the true God, ſuppoſed Communication with falſe Gods and Goddeſſes, thereby to keep People in awe, out of the Veneration they have for any thing preſented as God; by theſe means and his pretended converſation with his *Egeria*, *Numa Pompilius*, tamed the rude nature of thoſe Thieves, Rogues and Murtherers, who firſt of all had peopled *Rome*. Thus alſo that infamous Impoſtor *Mahomet*, by the means of a Pigeon he had taught to ſtand upon his ſhoulders, and pick ſomething to eat out of his ear, and the Paroxyſms of Epilepſie or the Fits of his Falling-ſickneſs perſwaded a great part of the World that thereby God had Communication with him, and then ſuggeſted to him thoſe Laws he hath given to his Sectators. And *Machiavel* who underſtood the art of ruling better than of living well, adviſes Stateſmen to have ſome grains of Religion in every deſign of theirs.

This hath been the practice of Founders of Ancient Monarchies; *Semiramis* the famous Founder of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, was induſtrious enough to perſwade her People, ſhe had in her Infancy been expoſed, and how Birds took care of her and

and brought her meat as they do to their young ones; and to have this to be the more confirmed, ſhe ordered it ſhould be reported after her death, how ſhe had been changed into a Dove, and had been fetched away by a number of other Birds out of her Chamber. I will not mention her feigning to have changed Sex, and acting the part of her Son *Ninus*. *Cyrus* the Founder of the *Perſian* Monarchy to get Credit and Authority, made uſe of the Vine-tree which his Grand-father ſaid he had ſeen come out *ex filiæ naturalibus*, whoſe Branches over-ſhadowed whole *Aſia*; ſo he ſaid, a Bitch had given him to Suck in the Wood where he had been left by *Harpagus*, till a Shepherd having accidentally found him, carryed him to his Wife. *Alexander the Great* pretended to be Son of *Jupiter*, who under the ſhape of a Serpent, uſed to come to his Mother *Olympias*, and that when he was Born, *Diana* was ſo buſie in aſſiſting his Mother, that ſhe never thought to hinder her Temple of *Epheſus* from being burned, as it happned in that time. *Romulus* pretended to be the Son of *Mars*, who did familiarly Converſe with his Mother *Rhea*, then the Stories of the ſhe Wolf, of the Vultures, *&c.* gave him credit amongſt men. Others great aſpiring men took the ſame way, for *Scipio* would have People to believe he undertook nothing without the Counſel of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. *Sylla* boaſted all his actions were favored by *Apollo* of *Delphos*, to this effect he uſed conſtantly to wear a little Image of his. And *Sertorius* pretended his Stag or Hind brought him news of what paſſed in the Council of their Gods.

But

But leaving theſe things aſide, it will certainly be important for a King upon the beginning of his Reign, as for a Miniſter upon the firſt entering upon his Miniſtery, to endeavor to do ſome notable act thereby to get a name. Thus *Solomon*'s Reign was made famous, at firſt by his Judgment between the two Harlots; it is true that the conjuncture is not alwayes favorable, but when it is, it gives a great repute and much glory.

If (as it is ſo) this hath been the practice of thoſe who only for their worldly ends and intereſt, and who ruled over Heathens and Idolaters, to be ſo careful as to introduce ſome ſhadow of Religion amongſt their Subjects? What ſhall we ſay of thoſe who make or ought to make conſcience of their wayes, and have learned the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and Reign over Chriſtians? Certainly affairs of Religion, yea the true Proteſtant reformed Religion ought to be their ſpecial care, and are bound to make it their buſineſs, as was done by the good Kings and Reformers amongſt the *Jews*, who began their good Reigns with the Reformation of what was amiſs in the worſhip of God, and it hath ever been obſerved how they who do ſo, ever had their reward from God; who ſeeing Magiſtrates to be zealous for his glory, takes them under his protection, inſpires thoughts of obedience into their Subjects, and as they are true to him their great Maſter, he works Loyalty in the hearts of their Subjects. *The Throne*, ſaith *Solomon*, *is ſetled upon righteouſneſs*, but no righteouſneſs without knowledge and truth, and none of theſe without Religion, he who is willing to build himſelf an habitation, muſt begin with the Houſe of the Lord.

How

How comfortable is it to ſee a Prince's heart ſeaſoned with Grace, with a true Principle of Piety, ſetting up true Religion and a Worſhip grounded upon the rule of the Goſpel, diſcountenancing by his example and commands, whatſoever is contrary to Truth, Piety, ſound Doctrine and good Manners, and promoting the Kingdom of Chriſt upon the Souls of his Subjects as his own Authority over their Perſons and Eſtates. Let them not be miſtaken, they are to be Nurſing-Fathers to the Church, and are alſo appointed keepers of both Tables of the Law, manifold is the puniſhment for the neglect of Religion, by the confeſſion of an Heathen Author, whoſe words in the Original are theſe.

Delicta majorum immeritus lues
Romane, donec templa refeceris
Ædeſque labentes deorum, &
Fœda nigrô ſimulachra fromo.

Hor. lib. 3. Od. 6.

Not only Seditions, Wars, Plague and ſuch Scourges will be ſent, but the fall of the Church will cruſh the State and Rulers of it, becauſe they prevented it not when it hath been in their power; they who had no other lights but thoſe of nature, were ſevere in this point, for the *Athenians* exiled *Diagoras* the Philoſopher, becauſe he had written he could not tell whether or not there were any Gods, and who they were, in caſe there were any, and condemned *Socrates*, becauſe to them he ſeemed to introduce a new Religion. Now in this caſe, what *Cicero* ſaith will be true, *Noxæ par pœna eſto, ut in ſuo vitio quiſque plectatur*, let the puniſh-

puniſhment be ſuitable to the fault, that every one may be puniſhed in his way, and according to his guilt: Do Magiſtrates not care for God nor Religion, then God will not care for them nor their concerns? Are they diſobedient to God? their Subjects will prove ſo to them, no doubt but that *Saul* had forfeited the Kingdom to God, before the hearts of the People were turned to *David.*

Religion being the chief and moſt conſiderable part of a Government ought to be minded accordingly, and not ſevered from it nor ſlighted, they who have not the grace to do it out of conſcience, muſt do it out of Policy, it being their Worldly as Spiritual intereſt, yet this is Gods right, which one time or other he will require at their hands. Why ſhould the folly of men put aſunder that which God will have to be together, and indeed all other parts of Government without this, are but a dead Corps and a Body without Soul, it doth quicken, Salt and ſeaſon all other things conducing to a Government. Therefore ſeeing, as St. *Auſtin* ſaith, *De Deo optimè exiſtimare pietatis eſt exordium,* to think well of God, is the ground of Piety, *Omnes Religione moventur, & Deos patrios quos à majoribus acceperunt, colendos ſibi diligenter & retinendos arbitrantur.* All are acted by Religion and Believe, they ought to Worſhip the Gods of their Fathers, and all things befall happily thoſe who ſerve God, and unhappily thoſe who ſlight him. *Curtius* ſaith, *Nulla res multitudinem efficaciùs regit quam ſuperſtitio,* Religion

Cicero.

Omnia proſpera eveniunt Dios colentibus, adverſa ſpernentibus, T. Livius.

rules

rules beſt of all a Multitude. Magiſtrates muſt have a true ſence of Piety, be tender and careful of Religion for God's and their own ſake, and even upon the account of their Authority.

But withall they ought to know how far they may go herein, ſome ſin in the exceſs as others in the defect, and in it a method is to be obſerved, for 'tis not fit nor proper for Magiſtrates to Preach or to Adminiſter the Sacraments: When *Saul* and *Uriah* would have offered Sacrifice they were puniſhed. There is a vaſt difference between the Adminiſtration of the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Offices, though both be part of the Government, for the Church hath her Laws, Rules, Miniſtery and Officers by her ſelf, and when the Magiſtrate is willing to have any thing done in the Church, he muſt do it by the means of the Officers, and according to the wayes of it, ſo that his power is about, though not in Religious things; for all this, his Authority is extended upon all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons who are his Subjects, and they may not be diſpenſed from the obedience they owe to Superiors.

The Soveraign Powers as to eſſentials, have no right to make Laws, and impoſe them upon the Church, as they may do in relation to the State, they are tyed to rules, and may not preſcribe any contrary to, or different from thoſe which Chriſt hath preſcribed in his word, or are of an Apoſtolical practice, none may exerciſe any office in the Church, except he hath a lawful calling thereunto; but Princes have right to call Councils, and preſide therein, and give ſtrength and vertue of a Law to thoſe reſolutions that are taken therein, for without the Secular Power, all Eccleſiaſtical

cal Laws are of little or no effect: 'tis also his right to encourage Church-officers and punish unworthy ones, all which things are no small Prerogatives, but to make new Articles of Faith, or alter those which are already, would prove a meer Usurpation.

To have a right of medling in affairs of Religion, is a point very important, and a great addition to a Secular Power, the knowledge of this made the *Roman* Emperors so much affect the Dignity and title of *Pontifex Maximus*, which Popes retain to this day. Amongst the *Jews* the office of the High Priest was very honorable and of a great jurisdiction, and in the dayes of the *Macchabees* at the time of the Persecution by *Antiochus* and others, the High Priest was also the Prince of the People, and so acted according to these two capacities, as Prince he ruled, as High Priest he performed Divine Service, and as both he was the Governor of Church and State: and though at present it be otherwise, yet the Secular Power retains a jurisdiction in matters of Religion, whether or not the Subjects be of a different Religion from the Prince's; however with some difference, wherein the custom of Countries is to be observed: In *Saxony* for the Ruling of the Church, there is a Senate called Presbytery, over which the Prince sets one to preside; *Venetians* have some Senators to be present at the transactions of the Inquisition, and in *France* that King names a Commissioner of the reformed Religion to be present in their Synods, and Provincial or National Assemblies, not only as a sign of his approbation of their meeting, and consequently of the protection he hath granted them, but also to have inspection,

that

that no affairs but thoſe relating to their Churches, be handled amongſt them.

There is no doubt but that of old Heatheniſh Nations had a ſingular veneration for the things of their Religion. I confeſs that they who are in a wrong way, will uſually go farther than thoſe who are in a right one, and let a truly Religious man be compared with one acted by Idolatry and Superſtition, this laſt will in his way exceed the other by many degrees; and though I alſo own that a great difference is to be made between Religion and Superſtition, yet this is enough to ſhew how in States, affairs of Religion are to be minded, every one according to his own. The *Romans*, when they were to Elect new Conſuls to undertake a War, give a Battel, make a Peace, League or any other thing of importance, conſulted the will of their falſe Gods, with ſending to Oracles, obſerving the flight of Birds, and other Idolatrous wayes of theirs. Hereby alſo Generals of Armies kept them in awe and Diſcipline, or encouraged them according as they had a mind to, made uſe of common events, which they attributed to Supernatural cauſes, though they were but natural, as Eclipſes of the Moon, and of the Sun, of ebbing and flowing of the Sea, to take Towns and win Battels.

The reſpect which men have for Religion, is extended upon the Miniſters of it in all parts of the World, who hath credit and Authority with Princes and People, as the *Patriarch* in *Muſcovy*, the *Mufty* in *Turkey*, and ſo of other places. *Alexander* the Great with much reſpect received the Prieſts of the *Jews*, to whom, now and then, *Auguſtus* ſent wherewith to make Offerings and Sacrifices.

Sacrifices. *Jeroboam* is branded for a wicked man in part, becauſe he made Religion contemptible in the Perſon of thoſe whom he did ſet up to ſerve in it, who were from amongſt the loweſt of the People.

I hope I ſhall not be ſo miſtaken in what I have ſaid, as to be thought to preſs the care of Religion only upon a Worldly account, and Temporal intereſt, or to make it ſubſervient to the State, for I thank God I am better inſtructed than ſo, being fully perſwaded it ought to be ruled by, and Miniſter unto that Religion which is the true Chriſtian, but knowing how by reaſon of natural corruption men are much acted by intereſt, 'tis no prejudice to nor undervaluing of Religion, to ſay, that to ſettle and promote it, is the intereſt of Superior Powers, which yet I would have to mind it, not ſo much for intereſt, as for conſcience-ſake: Thus when I mention the falſe Religions, or rather Idolatry of the Heathens, Turks, *&c.* I hope none will conclude I make them equal to true Religion, the uſe I make of it, is, that if Infidels are ſo careful of things relating to their Idolatrous and Superſtitious Religion, Chriſtian Princes ought not to be inferior to them in Piety and Zeal for the true Worſhip of God. For as the account made of God's honor and Service, and the reſpect had to Religious things do preſerve States, ſo the contempt of this cauſes their ruine and deſtruction, and where the true fear of God is wanting, things will infallibly go to decay.

A thing much to be obſerved by thoſe who have a right to it, is, not to promote or procure to be promoted to any offices of Religion, thoſe

who are not capable to perform them with care and faithfulness, for fear of bringing guilt upon themselves, or becoming accessary to the sins of others, this is a rule to be observed in all manner of charges and offices, but specially in Ecclesiastical, to bestow this by favor and not to merit, is to offer the lame and the blind to God which he doth abhor, to give an ignorant teacher or a scandalous Leader, is to become guilty of the loss of the souls which perish thorough the neglect or vices of Pastors, who love to Fleece but not to feed the Flock with sound Doctrine, but starve it for want of instruction, upon which account they are by Scriptures called Dumb Dogs, *Non pastores sed impostores*, saith *Bernard*, *non doctores sed seductores*.

The civil part of the Government, is that whereby Subjects are united amongst themselves, and altogether with the Soveraign as with their Head; in this body, that makes the office of joynts knitting all together, and being as it were the bond of Union and Peace, it doth regulate affairs between particular men, orders of pains and rewards, secures every one in his right and propriety, and from wrong, violence and injury, and procures many other advantages in the common Society,

These benefits are received from the Laws, which not only give us good Precepts, but also good Examples from others, for good Examples come from a good Rule, and good Rules from good Laws, waich are as the soul to every humane Society, without which it cannot subsist. First of all, the Laws of God and nature were graven upon the hearts of men, but sin hath either quite

quite blotted them out, or at leaſt very much defaced, a Spirit of ſtubbornneſs, Rebellion and diſobedience hath ſucceeded to man's Original righteouſneſs, innocency hath been followed with guiltineſs, as purity with corruption, ſince that time hath been in man an averſion to his duty and to his good, ſo that there hath been a neceſſity of Laws, as of a curb, and to bridle the bad inclinations, and prevent the ſad effects cauſed thereby, even as we ſee Dams and Cauſies oppoſed to the violency of Rivers.

Diſorders, Confuſions and other ſins have been the occaſion of Laws, for if there had been no ſin there had been no Law, there being no neceſſity to forbid men thoſe things which they do not, and are no wayes inclined to do. Now the Law is a Buoy to warn men of Rocks, Sands and other dangers, in caſe they go ſuch a way, and a reſtraint muſt be put upon thoſe actions and paſſions which are contrary to Reaſon and Juſtice.

This other Propoſition is alſo true, If there had been no Law there had been no ſin.

This being fallen under the conſideration of the Founders of Monarchies and Republicks, they were careful to find remedies againſt it; they knew well how the ambition of ſome men makes them aſpire after the Dignities of others, their covetouſneſs after their Eſtates, their envy after their good name, and their inconſtancy made them deſirous of changes and revolutions, and ſeek after novelties. Chaſtity is often expoſed to the attempts of Luſt, and life to thoſe of hatred and revengefulneſs, ſo that except a courſe were taken to ſecure theſe things, it were as good to live amongſt wild Beaſts where the ſtrongeſt de-

vours the weakeſt: and becauſe the nature of ſome is to put cheats and tricks upon others, a courſe was taken to preſerve men from them, and they were taught what to do, or what not to do, and acquainted with what ground they ſtood upon.

Therefore Law-givers ſtudied and contrived Rules and Laws for the Common-wealth they were ſetting on foot, and not daring to truſt to themſelves alone, they ſent into other places to learn what good cuſtoms they had, out of which all they compiled thoſe Laws which they thought more proper and ſuitable with the nature of their people, or the way of Government they intended to ſettle, but becauſe all Laws neceſſary to the preſervation of a State, cannot be made at once, upon occaſion they or their Succeſſors altered and added to their own or their Predeceſſors Laws, which laſt is better done, there being an unwillingneſs in every man to alter his own conſtitutions, becauſe they ſeem thereby to lay a blemiſh upon themſelves, in deſtroying at one time that which they had built at another, though often ſuch changes be unavoidable, they not depending upon the Law-givers, but rather upon accidents, which they cannot help, and are not maſters of.

Hence came the *Codex*, *Inſtitutes*, *Digeſts* or *Pandects*, *&c.* of *Roman* Emperors, the municipal Laws in ſo many Countries, Statutes and Acts of Parliament, Chancery, King's-Bench, Common-Pleas and other Courts of Juſtice we have in *England*, ſo the Terms, Aſſiſes, Seſſions and ſo many formalities of Law, all intended for the Peace, Convenience and Juſtice in the Nation, without this

this laſt no ſuch thing as the former to be enjoyed in a Countrey, 'tis the chief vertue of all, ſo eſſential, that without it no Government can laſt, nay, the whole World would go to a decay. *What elſe are Kingdoms without Juſtice but great Theft?* This ground humane Society doth ſubſiſt upon, and works of Juſtice ought to take place of thoſe of Mercy? What could we ſay of a Man who inſtead of paying his Debts, would give Alms and do other acts of Charity, it would not be of his own, this is to ſteal with an intent to relieve others, let firſt every one have his own, and then diſpoſe of the reſt as he thinks fit. *Auguſt. de civit. dei lib. 4.*

Juſtice in men is a copy of the Original in God, it is one of his communicable Attributes, but with how vaſt a difference? What a compariſon between the whole Ocean and a little drop of water, between the light of the Sun and that of a little ſparkle of Fire? yet theſe compariſons do derogate from the juſtice of God, and are too advantageous for that of men, this is not it, but is ſomewhat like it. How admirable is that exact proportion which the juſtice of God puts between ſin and its puniſhment: Not to ſpeak of Hell where thoſe tongues which in this world have cauſed ſo much hot burnings and kindled diviſions ſhall be tormented in a flame: Thoſe Souls whoſe thoughts were wholly taken up in contriving of mischief, ſhall be for ever eaten up with a Worm, and thoſe who lived wholly amidſt flames of Luſt, ſhall be burnt with an unquenchable fire.

But even here the same just proportion is observed, ambitious men are often missing the honours they aspire unto, or deprived of those they enjoyed before and brought to shame and disgrace. A proud covetous rich man is not seldom reduced to poverty, and a luxurious man's vain and idle pleasures are many times followed with sorrows and pains : And God hath made those parts of men which are so sensible of pleasure, to be also very sensible of pain, to the end they may be punished in their kind and degree. But men who under God do here exercise Justice, can never attain to that just proportion, they are satisfied with ordering the penalties of Laws to be executed, and that is all they can do, are capable of and obliged to, but thou only O God art Just, of a natural righteousness in all thy wayes.

There are two sorts of Justice, one called *Distributive* which consists in the distribution of Rewards or Pains according as men do well or ill, thus it is Just to reward Vertue and to punish Vice, this hath a respect to the dignity and condition of persons according to the Geometrical proportion. The other is named *Commutative*, allowing to every one his own, the Workman must have his hire, Servants their wages, Souldiers their pay and the like, according to Contracts and Covenants, for this depends much upon Bargains and Agreements, which 'tis Just men should stand to, otherwise no dealings to be had, no society to be kept of one with another, therefore to do Justice is not only to execute Judgment upon Malefactors, but also to give every one his own, and this hath no respect to the quality of persons, because a Noble man is to pay the price

price of a Horſe as well as an ordinary man, ſo that it is according to the numerical proportion, the queſtion being about the right and dominion of things belonging to particular men; under that part of Government called Civil, I comprehend alſo that which is called Criminal, Felony and the like, all proceeding from the ſame authority, and being reduced to the ſame end.

And to ſpeak more clearly upon this Subject, I ſay there are three ſorts of Juſtice, one called *Commutative*, which doth Compoſe one part with another, making one Citizen and Subject equal with another, the *Diſtributive* Compoſes the whole with the part, that is, the common Goods of the Republick, beſtowing them upon thoſe Citizens who deſerve them beſt, but the *Legal* Juſtice doth Compoſe and fit the Part for the Whole, making every particular man contribute to the common good and private intereſts ſubſervient to the Great and Publick one, and theſe three kinds of Juſtice in a State ought exactly, yet prudently to be Adminiſtred.

Unjuſtice is that which is againſt Right and Law, ſo that 'tis ſuppoſed the Law ought to be good, for all Laws more or leſs muſt have ſome things of the Great Law-givers, who is God now ſaith St. *Paul*, ſpeaking of this, *The Law is Holy, Good, and Juſt*, whatſoever then is contrary to it, is Unholy, Evil, and Unjuſt; therefore Woe be to thoſe who as Scripture ſaith, *ſet up miſchief by a Law*, and ſo compel men to do evil, and bring them to this Dilemma, either to obey God and diſobey *Cæſar*, or elſe to obey *Cæſar* and diſobey God, for all Laws have more or leſs of Juſtice, *Rom.* 7.

according as more or leſs they have a conformity to thoſe of God. So that *Moſes* had much reaſon to ſay to the people of *Iſrael*, had any Nation ever ſo good Laws as you have? Which is underſtood not only of the Divine and Moral the pattern of all Laws, but alſo of the Wiſdome of their Civil Laws: Theſe are ſo important every where, that the Founders of Common-wealths have been more commended for their prudence in giving Laws, than for their power in getting the authority they had. This in *Greece* made ſome ſo famous, and a Law-giver is more commended than a Conqueror, or he who ſome other way Founded a State, upon which account *Numa Pompilius* is preferred before *Romulus*.

But there is a legiſlative Power, and the executive in ſome parts of the ſame Dominions, the Magiſtrates or Majors, and others have power for order ſake to make particular Conſtitutions for a time, and oblige people to their obſervation, however none of theſe muſt be contrary to the general Laws, but rather ſubſervient thereunto, and the power they have ſo to do is derived to them from the Supream, for none but thoſe in whom reſides the Soveraign Authority, or by his or their order and conſent hath right to make Laws, which is a Prerogative of Soveraign Authority, and when by his ſpecial appointment ſome have framed and penned Rules and Conſtitutions, they are no Laws till this authority hath given them that ſtrength and made them ſo. But this once being done, they order ſome to ſee them put in execution, and ſo Communicate to ſuch that part of their authority called the executive Power, for indeed whether it be in Monarchies

narchies or Republicks, the Prince in whom resides the soveraign authority, as in Republicks in the Nobles or in the People, as they cannot be every where, and as usually they act not by themselves, but by their Officers; without devesting themselves, they invest others with sufficient power to secure their authority in the observation of such Laws, and punish the breakers thereof.

But the crabbiest and most difficult part of this, is about the interpretation of these Laws, many Comments having been made upon't, and the meaning of them being so differently understood, many tricks and cheats are daily attempted to be put upon't, and these many niceties of the Law turn to be a burthen to the people for whose good they were intended, so that often they are made use of contrary to their true end, and this to serve the turn of some who will make a Monopoly of it, for Laws ought to be clear and intelligible and not darkned and obscured by the designs of particular men, who often make Law-givers say things which they never thought upon; thus that which to the Subjects was intended for a Physick, is turned to them into a Poison. When in a Law any thing is ambiguous, and admits of a double sence as sometimes it falls out through the inadvertency or unskilfulness of him who penned it, then the best interpretation, and the most tending to the publick good is to be given to't, for the mind of the Law-giver must ever be supposed to have aimed at it, therefore the Judges of the Land who are to be Judges indeed of the intention of the Law-giver, of the scope of the Law, and of the true meaning and interpretation thereof,

of, are much concerned to decide aright, for they are lookt upon as the true Oracles of Right and Juſtice.

Yet as much as can be multiplicity of Laws is to be avoided, *That State is corrupt which hath many Laws*, ſaith a great Stateſman, and in another place, *as formerly we ſuffered under wickedneſſes, ſo now we are overburthened with Laws*, for as ſometimes they are unneceſſary, ſo they often prove inconvenient and ſnares and a ſtumbling-block, whereby Sutes become chargeable, tedious, and almoſt perpetual, this is a great grievance of the poor who is thus tired out by the rich, which upon occaſion a Prince prudently will endeavour to redreſs, therefore one of his chief cares will be to provide Offices of Magiſtracy with able and honeſt men, fearing God and hating covetouſneſs, giving them the charge which once *Moſes* did to the Judges he ſetled in *Iſrael*, *take heed what you do, for you are to Judge not for men, but for God.* And there is no doubt but that when corrupt men are ſet in ſuch places, they who raiſed them to't meerly out of favour or intereſt, become acceſſary to the Injuſtices by them committed, and thereby bring guilt upon themſelves and their Government. Juſtice is equally to be adminiſtred, there muſt be no diſtinction of Perſons, high or low, rich or poor, all ought to be dealt with alike, for fear the cry of the Widow, Fatherleſs, and of the oppreſſed, ſhould go up to Heaven and bring down Judgment upon the unrighteous Judge and the whole Land, to this purpoſe Juſtice is well

Corruptiſſimarum reipublicarum plurimæ leges Tacit. annal. 4. and ut anteà flagitiis ſic nunc laboramus legibus.

well repreſented blindfolded, to ſhew the indifference ſhe ought to uſe, for thus being not able to ſee nor to know, ſhe can make no difference of Perſons, but the Scales ſhe holds in one hand makes a difference between a right and a wrong cauſe, and the Sword ſhe hath in the other, declares her to be armed againſt crimes, this is one of God's attributes which he communicates to his Vice-gerents on Earth, that is, thoſe in whom reſides a ſoveraign Authority over men. They ought to ſuffer no Injuſtice which breaks Scepters, tumbles down Thrones, overturns Governments and deſtroyes Nations; now there is no evil, no crime but can be reduced to one kind or other of Injuſtice, which the Chief Magiſtrate is bound to hinder, for ſaith Scripture, *he bears not the Sword without cauſe, being a Servant of God to do juſtice*, for a comfort and protection to good men, and a terror to evil doers. It was an Act of a Chriſtian King practiſed by *Henry 4th.* of *France*, immediately before a Battel in the Head of an Army, being warned by a Miniſter of an injury he had done to an Officer of *Rochel*, which in caſe he would not do him ſome ſatisfaction for, told him God would not favour his Arms. That Prince fell on his knees, craved pardon of God for the Offence, and deſired the ſtanders by to be witneſſes as of his Repentance, ſo of his Promiſe, to give what ſatisfaction he could if God gave him life, thus he ſubmitted to do Juſtice though in his own caſe, as *David* had paſſed ſentence upon himſelf before he knew he was the man; one who ſo obſerveth Laws, will alſo certainly ſee others do the ſame. In the Hiſtory of *Greece* we read of a King, who having made a

Law

Law about a thing mentioned therein, the Penalty was, that the breaker of it ſhould have his eyes put out, his Son being become guilty of it, he would have the Law put in execution againſt him, but the people being much concerned and earneſtly intreating for pardon, to ſee the Law ſatisfied, cauſed one of his Sons eyes and another of his own to be put out.

Though all Laws are to be obſerved, yet they are not all of an equal weight, herein is more or leſs, for ſome are more important than others according to their ground or object; thoſe which are deduced from Scripture, or are immediately tending to the honour and ſervice of God, are of a far higher concernment than thoſe which are meerly prudential, and aim at no other end but to ſettle order amongſt men; in this the beſt and greateſt part of Caſuiſts do agree, that the Laws of men do not of their nature and primarily bind the conſcience of men, but as much as they depend upon divine Laws, for the Conſcience owns the authority of no man, yet when they who have a lawful Authority, for an inſtance, make a Law or Order, that after ſuch an hour at night any one that ſhall be found in the ſtreets, ſhall be carryed to Goal, or the like, one muſt ſubmit to and not break it, out of this Principle that God hath commanded us to obey Superiors.

After this, thoſe Laws which are grounded upon Principles of nature, ought to be had in a great conſideration, for that which is of a natural right, doth bind all who have humane nature; ſo ſelf-preſervation, and the propagation of its kind, are things which by nature are inſited in us,

us, therefore ſelf-Murther, and the deſtruction of thoſe of his own kind is unnatural, condemned by true, that is, rational men, and thoſe who have done otherwiſe, did it for ſome ends which they thought glorious to themſelves (except they were mad and diſtracted) as to dye for their Countrey, or the like: Hence it is, that particular Laws of Nations do more ſeverely puniſh thoſe crimes which are directly againſt nature, as *Sodomy*, Murther, *&c.* than others; for thoſe who commit them are of a ſtrange temper, if they find not in themſelves a repugnancy to ſuch things, againſt which, ſtrict Laws are made, whereſoever there is any regulated ſociety of men.

Then follow thoſe Principles which all Nations are agreed upon, as may be this, that perſons of Ambaſſadors and publick perſons ſent by lawful and ſoveraign Powers, are ſacred and inviolable, ſo that they who offend and offer violence to them, are ſaid to act againſt the right of Nations: The authority of the Maſters they repreſent ought to be reſpected in them, it being not poſſible to do them an injury, but it muſt reflect upon thoſe who ſent them; and indeed, all Princes and ſupream Magiſtrates are concerned herein, not only for themſelves, but alſo for their Subjects, to ſee them behave themſelves reſpectfully towards ſuch publick perſons, this upon occaſion being a precedent to others, to trample their Dignity under foot in the Perſon of thoſe whom they employ in the ſame way: But this I ſay only by the by, it being not of my preſent purpoſe, which is, to ſpeak of thoſe Laws particularly neceſſary to peace and quiet-

quietneſs in States, and not of this which is outward and of a larger extent.

Now I muſt proceed to the Martial Part of the Government, by which things are put in a poſture to ſecure the Peace within, and to prevent inward diſturbances, and from without, and when diſorders happen thereby, things are brought to a ſettlement, for *pax finis belli*, the end of War muſt be to come to a Peace, often Laws are of little or no ſtrength, except they be backt with the Sword, wherefore as I ſaid before, Juſtice, whereby Soveraigns are repreſented, hath not only Scales in one hand, but alſo a Sword in the other, to do right to themſelves and to others: They ought to defend their rights, and of their Subjects, for there is a mutual obligation, Inferiors owe obedience to their Superiors, and from them they expect protection.

If every one would do his duty, and not covet that which belongs to others, there would not be ſo much uſe of a Martial Power as there is, but as ſubjection is an effect of ſin, ſo diſobedience to Authority ariſes from the ſame cauſe; the great Vanity, Luſt, Revengefulneſs, Ambition, and ſo many inordinate paſſions in the World, require a Bridle and to be curbed and kept in, and as many uſe violence to pervert all manner of Laws, and make the ſentence to be true, *ſilent leges inter arma*, ſo there muſt be a force greater than theirs to reſtrain them, without this the beſt conſtitutions in the World would ſignifie nothing, becauſe there being a greater number of wicked than of good men, many more obſerve them out of fear of, than love for them: Therefore 'tis a great and a neceſſary prudence, for chief Governors

vernors of Countries to fit and prepare ſufficient Forces to ſuppreſs Riſings and Rebellions at home, and reſiſt the power and violence of Forreign enemies, and though Subjects be never ſo obedient, Neighbours never ſo quiet nor ſo good friends, yet it is prudence to be in a poſture not to fear either of them, and 'tis a very great weakneſs and overſight not to provide againſt dangers, even againſt Probabilities, for ſuch is the unſettleneſs of worldly things, ſuch the inconſtancy of the minds, and ſuch the variety of accidents that no evil is improbable, or at leaſt unpoſſible to befall a State.

Sin muſt be taken out of the World before ſuch fears can be removed from the hearts of Rulers, or ſuch dangers from their States, the Devil being ever ſo buſie to introduce confuſion, and diſturb the order which good and wiſe men have ſetled in the World, when Hatred, Envyings, Pride, Diſcontents, Covetouſneſs, Faction, Partialities and Intereſts are rooted in the hearts of men, the good and peace of States cannot lie ſecure from them? how many is there in every State who deſpiſe Governments, hate the perſons of Governors, ſpeak amiſs of their actions, cenſure their Counſels, blacken their Intentions, make odious Compariſons between Times and Perſons, and in a word, traduce them as unfit and unworthy of ſitting at the Helm of the State?

On the other ſide, what watching is there of one neighbour State over another to take advantages, if one Prince doth but ſtumble, another will endeavour to give him a fall, if it conſiſts with his own intereſt: If a State be torn and rented,

rented, several will strive to get one piece or other of it, such a Countrey, saith one, lyes conveniently for me, if I had such a Town, it would secure my Dominions that way, saith another, and this without examination whether it be right or wrong, so to say, so to desire, and so to do, not considering how; may be, there is as much hanging over their own States, and that often by a just retaliation and judgment of God, men are at last brought to suffer that which they made others to suffer. In the mean time, hence appears the necessity of providing against such attempts, and how 'tis the duty, and will be the prudence of Rulers over Nations, to take care of it, I say duty because God hath called them thereunto, and to this effect they have been raised to that dignity to Govern their Subjects, and to secure them from injustice and oppression, for to this same end they pay Taxes, Customs, and other Charges necessary to their preservation, and are or ought to be ready to do any thing they are commanded in order thereunto.

The way to do this, is by a Martial Power yet not arbitrary, not to destroy, but to protect the Civil rights: A Nation must ever be in a posture to defend her self, and upon a good ground assist her Allyes abroad, whereunto are required several things, which before I mention, many more ought to be considered of, for accordingly one disposes of his War-like affairs. First, the situation of a Countrey is important, for if it lyes by the Sea side, and hath the advantage of Rivers, then there must be Ships to keep off an Enemy from invading, specially if it be an Island,

for

for theſe are the moving Towers which defend it, therefore a great care is to be taken to have ſtore of all manner of Tackling and other neceſſaries for Navigation, which men from their youth up muſt be uſed to and encouraged in, then there ought to be Forts and Block-houſes to command the coming into Harbours, mouths of Rivers, and any other Landing Places. If the Countrey be Hilly and Mountainous, upon the Paſſages ought to be ſtrong holds to defend them, and though the Countrey were Champion, and Levelled, upon the Borders ſhould be builded ſtrong Places and Fortifications, whereby the reſt of the Countrey lyes ſomewhat ſheltered, and although, in caſe of a Civil War, any ſtrong hold being ſeized upon by a Rebellious Party, can give much trouble to lawful Authority, yet on the other ſide ſuch places are very uſeful againſt the invaſion of a Forreign Enemy, who either muſt leave thoſe places behind him, whereby all Communication between his States and Army will be much interrupted, or if he undertakes to Beſiege them, it will require ſome time to take them, and whilſt this is a doing an Army may be gathered, and 'tis no ſmall advantage to have ſtopped his march, whereby many advantages do accrue to thoſe who know how prudently to uſe it.

Another thing to be taken into conſideration is the nature and diſpoſition of the People, 'tis a great point to underſtand this well, to make a right uſe of them, whether their nature be eaſie or hard to be Governed, whether rude or gentle, Obedient or Rebellious, Couragious Strong and able to endure hardſhip. There is ſome People

fitter for Sea than Land, others on the contrary, ſome better for Horſe than Foot. So that there is a great deal of prudence in this choice and to make uſe of men in their way, ſome are fitter for a Siege than for a Battel, and even in this there is a great need of a Martial prudence to put every one in that order wherein he will beſt act his part, whether in the Forlorn-hope, in the Wings Battel, or Reſerve, and withal to oppoſe them to thoſe Enemies which they are fitter to fight againſt.

Neither is the kind of Armes to be neglected, whether Fire-locks, Pikes, or others according to their skill and dexterity in the uſe thereof, heavy or light Armes not fitting all men alike; withal, the manner of the Warlike poſture ought to be ſuitable to that which the Neighbours are in, whether by Land or by Sea, ſo the preparations of a State muſt be proportionable to thoſe of his Neighbours as to ones own ſtrength, and from the temper of theſe Neighbours, one will be more or leſs careful, though I do not deny, but that a Prince ought ever to be ſo, yet thoſe who joyn with *Turks*, *Tartars* and ſuch People ſo apt to make irruptions into other Countreys, have a greater reaſon to ſtand upon their Guards than thoſe whoſe Neighbours are of a more quiet Nature.

Theſe conſiderations relating to the Military poſture, which every Nation according to her occaſions ought to be in, being premiſed, I reduce all things conducing to't to thoſe following, Places, Men, Arms, under which I comprehend Ammunition, Proviſion and Moneys to give motion to every one of theſe, he who can be Maſter of the

the Field hath reaſon to wiſh for no ſtrong places, for they do him no good, and can accidentally do him much harm, as it hath befaln ſome Conquerors, who being forced to keep Garriſons therein, have much leſſened and weakened their Armies, and at laſt have been beaten, or made no Progreſs in the Field, and 'tis certainly true that it is contrary to the intereſt of any Prince who hath ſtanding Forces, by whoſe means I conceive him to be Maſter of the Field in his own Countrey, to have any ſuch places in the Heart of his Dominions, except one or few to lay up Magazines, for in caſe of riſings, they would be a great hinderance if they held out againſt him as it would be in danger of it, becauſe upon ſuch deſigns one of the firſt things moved, is, what places ſhall be ſeized on to make a Head. But withal, as they are like to cauſe inconveniency in the heart of a State, and in relation to Subjects, ſo they may prove very uſeful upon the Borders againſt a Forreign Enemy to whom they are a Door ſhut, a Town Walled, and a Paſſage ſtopt, they are good to force in Contributions from the Countrey about, as alſo to bridle all diſaffected Perſons thereabouts, only a great care muſt be taken to truſt with the command of ſtrong holds, Men of Loyalty and Experience, this opinion is not ſingular, but approved of and confirmed by General Practice, 'tis not raſhly, but upon good grounds that men apply themſelves to underſtand Fortifications, and ſtudy to bring them to a regular way and perfection, hence it is that good Ingeneers are ſo much eſteemed and ſought after, and employed by thoſe who know the importance of their Art whereby the defects of nature

are supplyed, or else her advantages perfected and made use of.

After strong Places, I named Men. The profession of Armes is very honourable, provided Men do not make a trade of it, and do not follow't for it self, or by reason of the mischiefs and inconveniencies which do very often attend it, hereupon two things ought to be observed, Choice and Discipline: If in any thing in the World Princes and chief Magistrates ought to be Wise, it must be in this Election which very often their Crowns, Authority, and all their Subjects do depend upon, whereof the defence is committed to their Sword, therefore in this choice favour must have nothing to do to the prejudice of Vertue, Merit and Valour, Probity also ought much to be look't upon, or else those who are employed to defend Authority may happen to Usurp it, and those that were appointed Protectors of Liberty, will perhaps attempt to oppress it: Upon this account States cannot much trust to mercenary Forces, which serving only for a pay, will either fail in time of need if it be not punctually given them, or else to have it raised may happen to leave the Service and embrace a contrary Party, and this some have had sad experience of, though the Republick of *Venice* hath sped well herein, for whilst her Subjects have been encreasing at home, she had made Conquests at the cost of the blood of other Nations, yet others have smarted for't, because they sometimes prove unruly, and have not so much respect and affection as if they were Born Subjects of those whom they fight for, besides that upon the Commands of those whose Subjects they are, they will be gone and leave one in the lurch. So

So that there is no doubt, but ſuch a collective body is in danger to melt away, therefore no great truſt is to be put in't, but if it can be done, it will prove much better to chuſe thoſe to defend a State in which they are born, for then they will fight for themſelves and Families; withal, they muſt have all or part of the qualifications I mentioned a little before of being Courageous, ſtrong and able to endure hardſhip, for want of which one is forced to make uſe of ſtrangers; and I look upon't as the unhappineſs of a Countrey, to breed thoſe men who are not able to defend it: But ſuppoſing they be fit to be made Souldiers of, it will be asked! which is the beſt, to have them in a way of a ſtanding Army, or as Militia's and Trainbands only, which I leave to be decided by thoſe who are concerned, only I ſay that ſtanding Armies are chargeable, and often prove dangerous, ſpecially when being led by ſtirring Officers, they go about to make for themſelves an intereſt diſtinct from that of the Nation, as *England* hath had experience of, and *Poland* did find in the Reign of the two laſt Kings by the confederacy of that Army they were ſo afraid of; though often it be difficult enough to raiſe an Army, yet ſometimes 'tis harder to disband it. In a word, none but thoſe who are in danger from their Subjects or bad Neighbours, will keep up ſtanding Armies, but only as many Souldiers as are neceſſary for the Guard of thoſe in whom reſides the ſupream Authority, and of thoſe places which 'tis neceſſary to keep Garriſons in, ſuch Orders may be taken with the Militia's upon a call to be in a readineſs againſt a Forreign Enemy, and this only upon the defen-

ſive, yet to ſay all, the People they are compoſed of, having often Wife and Children, for the moſt part are tyed at home, and ſo cannot mind War, and though they happen to have Valour, yet for want of Exerciſe they will want skill and experience, and ſo upon occaſion do little or no Service at all, 'tis War and Exerciſe that makes good Souldiers, and good Officers, for there they learn as in a School.

A Queſtion is ſtarted by ſome which is beſt or moſt neceſſary, Horſe or Foot, in anſwer whereunto ſomething I ſaid before muſt be obſerved here, that is, the ſituation of the Countrey, and the diſpoſition of the People, certainly in an open Countrey Horſe is of more uſe than Foot, as on the contrary, Foot is more ſerviceable amongſt Woods and Mountains than upon levelled ground, ſo uſually Horſe-men are not ſhut up within Towns, or in a *Trenchee* as Foot-men are, but are fit to beat the Field and range up and down the Countrey. Alſo by nature ſome Nations have no diſpoſition to be Troopers, ſuch are *Switzers*; commonly the *Spaniſh* Foot is better than their Horſe, and alſo uſually the *French* Horſe is better than their Foot, though now it alters ſomewhat; in *Poland* they are all Horſemen which are drawn into the Field, ſometimes to the number of 80000 when they had occaſion of Foot, they have drawn the *Coſſacks* out of *Uckrain*; formerly in our Wars againſt the *French*, our Kings truſted their Perſons amongſt the Foot, a ſign of the great confidence they had in them: Hence I conclude, that the Foot are better in ſome places, and the Horſe in others, and it will depend upon thoſe who are concerned to ſee which of the two are more

more neceſſary for the preſervation of their Dominions, though commonly both are.

Over Soldiers muſt be good Officers, men of known valour, experience and credit as much as can be found, for this enables them to command better, and gives their orders a greater weight and Authority; and if a choice is ſo neceſſary as to Common Souldiers, certainly the ſame, if no greater care muſt be uſed in reference to their Heads and Leaders, in whom vigorouſneſs or activity is one of the moſt neceſſary qualifications: for thus, not only they avoid ſurpriſals from an enemy, but alſo fall on them unawares, and thereby get great advantages, for ſuch was thought to be five and twenty or thirty miles off, who by a quick and a ſudden march was on the skirts of his Enemies; alſo there muſt be a competent number of Officers, and proportionable to the number of Souldiers, ſpecially in time of War, to the end, that in a Fight there may ever be ſome to take the place of thoſe who are killed, for elſe for want of a Head and of Command, Souldiers fall into diſorder, and then to a flight.

Above all things, a Prince or a Republick ought to be wiſe in the choice of a General of the Army, this is the head and the ſoul which is to give life and motion to the whole body, for whatſoever their Lieutenant-Generals, Field-Marſhals, and other high or low Officers and Souldiers do, muſt be according to their orders: Many are able to command Companies and Regiments, and Bodies of 5 or 6000 who would be at a loſs, and ſink under the cares which the command of 30000 engage a man to, therefore thoſe numerous Armies of 2 or 300000 men are more of cumbe-

rance than use, fall into wants and confusion, and exhaust the care and strength of a General, who besides Courage and Valour, must have Prudence and Conduct, and be esteemed capable and worthy of that Dignity by those who are to be under his command, and be able to follow not only the general Rules of War, but also upon occasion to invent something of his own, and use Stratagems unknown to others, above all avoiding faults, for *in bello bis peccare non licet*, in War one may not fail twice, being watchful to get advantages upon his Enemy, and careful not to let him have any over him, foresight is an excellent quality in him, for inconveniencies befallen unexpectedly are hard to be remedied, but those which are foreseen can often easily be prevented; to know well his Forces and his Enemies, is a great step towards a Victory, but the advantage of ground well taken, can often do more than the number or valour of Souldiers. Farther, a wise General commits to hazzard as little as he can, and never Fights except he be forced to it by necessity, or invited by a fair opportunity. There are some few men in the World, of whom we use to say, they are born to command, by reason of an Authority attending whatsoever they do or say, which strikes in men respect and fear, and exacts obedience from them; this makes a great shew in a General, who enjoyes that advantage, in whom also Eloquence and Learning are necessary to perswade or dissuade and strengthen his designs with reasons whereby his commands are more heartily obeyed, and the love of Souldiers so necessary to Officers better obtained.

The

The Army is the Hand, and the General the Head to direct it, ſo that in War Council is as neceſſary as Force. *Romans* have ſeen *Lucullus*, who never was in the Field before, taken out of his Study, to make great progreſs in the Head of an Army. Some have put to the queſtion, which is beſt, an unexperienced General over a well Diſciplined Army, or a skillful General and a raw Army, and though men be divided in their opinions about this, yet the greateſt part concludes for the able General and unexperienced Army, and ſay, that in caſe he be not diſpoſed to perform his part well, an Army cannot infuſe knowledge and experience in him, becauſe he will think it to be a ſhame for him to be inſtructed by thoſe who are under his command, (yet experience teaches, that provided there be good General Officers, and a good Council of War, a raw and young General may ſometimes ſucceed in his Command) but a General by his care, Authority and experience, can in time well Diſcipline an Army. This I bring only to ſhew, how too much care cannot be uſed in the choice of a General, by whoſe advice and help a War is managed, as it is in a Council of War, when any motion is made by an Officer about ſome deſign, moſt commonly after it hath been approved of, the execution is committed to the deſigner, out of this conſideration, that being the Author of the Counſel, he is much concerned in the ſucceſs, and that he is the fitteſt to execute his own motion, in a way which every one is not acquainted with, according to what ſaith *Homer*, *The Tongue is good for Counſel, and the Hand in a Fight*, it hapning often, that he who ſaith well, doth well alſo.

One

One thing which above all a prudent General avoids is, raſhly and unneceſſarily to venture his Perſon, upon whoſe preſervation often depends the ſafety of an Army, and of a whole Nation. Therefore *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, in a handſome way, was cenſured by that great Captain the Duke of *Parma*, who coming with an Army out of *Flanders* to raiſe the Siege of *Paris*, the King went and met him with a ſmall Company, and ventured ſo far, that his Perſon was in a great danger, yet came off valiantly. Having ſent to ask of the Duke, amongſt other things, *What he thought of his retreat*, he anſwered, *'Twas a brave and a glorious one, but for my part*, ſaid he, *I would not bring my ſelf into a neceſſity of making ſuch a one*, he commended his courage, but blamed his imprudence, which without neceſſity had engaged him in ſuch a danger. Upon the like account *Biron* told him one day, *Sir, you have done what I ſhould have done*, that is, acted the part of an ordinary Officer, which it did not become a King to do, the head hath its office, and the hands muſt have their own.

There is in the World ſomething ſo like courage, that many are miſtaken in it, and give the name to that which doth not deſerve it, for want of knowing the true nature thereof: In ſome it is an effect of the brutiſhneſs and impetuoſity of their nature, whereof all motions are violent, in others it ariſeth out of ignorance of the danger which they do not perceive; in others it is cauſed by the fume of too much liquor which elevates the Spirits; in others 'tis an effect of fear, for a Coward being put to't, becomes ſometimes a fierce and a furious man, or elſe it is cauſed by

ſome

ſome other ſudden paſſion, as Love, Vengeance, hatred, *&c.* but true courage is natural, though not alwayes equal, well grounded, and for a good cauſe, elſe it is raſhneſs and temerity.

After the choice of Souldiers, Officers, and of a General, follows the Diſcipline to be obſerved amongſt armed men; this ſalt doth ſeaſon all Martial-actions, and without it Armies cannot ſubſiſt very long, becauſe all will fall into diſorders and confuſions, this is ſuch a preſervative againſt corruptions which often States are ſubject to, that when ſome have laboured very hard under dangerous deſtempers, an exact Adminiſtration of this Diſcipline, hath upheld and kept them from fall and diſtruction, as it hath hapned with ſeveral, ſpecially with the *Romans*: This makes Souldiers mind their work, and keeps them from minding any thing elſe; ſo that when Wars ceaſed, the *Roman* Generals kept them in exerciſe, in digging the ground, carrying the earth and ſtones to Pave High-wayes, make Buildings, *&c.* Theſe Armies carried no Women with them, and were not taken up with Dicing, Carding, and like Gaming, which make Souldiers to be Seditious and of no Service, their Officers took care to have them conſtantly employed in one thing or other, thus they were fitted to follow any Service they were put upon: Hence it is that one ſaith, that *in War, Diſcipline doth more than force or vertue*, to command and obey well, being eſſential qualities required in Armies, wherein good orders being made, ought punctually to be executed, and ſo much depends on it, that ſometimes Souldiers having left their Ranks upon a March, have been put to death

death for breaking of orders, for ſuch things may happen to cauſe the loſs, or at leaſt diſorder of an Army, ſpecially in Enemies Country, or when an Enemy is near.

All are agreed how Military Diſcipline ought exactly to be obſerved when Armies are at home, for fear the Princes Subjects ſhould be wronged. And when they are upon Friends ground, for fear of giving them juſt grounds of Complaint, which often hath made Friends to become Enemies. But ſome put to the queſtion, whether, when Armies are in Enemies Countries, it be fit to reſtrain them from doing wrongs and injuries to people therein, who do not oppoſe them: Great Generals differ in their opinions about this, for ſome ſay, a gentle uſage will win the affections of that people, and make them more willingly ſubmit, and yield obedience, in hopes of being free from oppreſſion under the new Maſter, nothing being ſo dangerous, as to drive people to deſpair, for inſtead that otherwiſe they fought only for their Princes Authority, they will be forced to defend their Eſtates, Liberties, Lives, and honour of their Families.

But others ſay, that Enemies Subjects ought alwayes to be conſidered as Enemies, and that under uncertain hopes of getting their compliance, one muſt not hazzard to loſe the love and affection of Officers and Souldiers, which great Conquerors ever endeavored to get and preſerve: Now nothing pleaſes Souldiers ſo much as to have liberty to take and Plunder when they find occaſion for it, which conſideration alſo entices many to be Souldiers, and inſteed that the contrary way doth diminiſh Armies, this increaſeth them:

them: Two as great Generals as have been in *Europe* for theſe many years, whereof one alive, own theſe different opinions. In this, is much depending upon the inclination and temper of perſons, he who is more for action and fiery, will indulge Souldiers deſires, but he who is more ſlow, wary, and of a milder nature, will be for preſervation and a milder uſage. The Prince of *Conde* & *Turenne.*

Yet ſometimes there are cauſes to make them for a while, lay aſide their own natural inclination, according to the poſture of the Army, when it wants Pay or neceſſaries, or when there is a neceſſity to terrifie an Enemy or Rebels, to force them to a ſubmiſſion out of fear, and upon ſuch accounts, ſome great cruelty uſed in the beginning of a War, will ſoon end it, which otherwiſe might have proved long and dangerous, this is alſo according as the Conqueror intends to preſerve or deſtroy the Country when he is Maſter of it: Alſo there are ſome Wars cauſed by deſire of revenge, and carryed on with Animoſites, which expell all expreſſions and ſhew of civility, uſed amongſt generous Enemies; ſo there may be ſome other conjunctures and reaſons to make Generals alter their wayes, in reference to their Souldiers or Enemies, which chiefly depend upon the orders they have received from their Princes and Superiors.

Having mentioned thoſe two great Captains, the Prince of *Conde* and Marſhal *Turenne*, I think the Reader will be well pleaſed, in this place to ſee a compariſon in matter of War between thoſe two great men, with the difference between them.

The

The Prince is a Perſon of a very high and excellent Génius, and of an ever preſent Wit, whoſe Courage is impetuous, yet without diſturbance or Precipitation. *Turenne* [a] was ſérious, no way apt to be moved, and had a true and a real valour.

[a] He being dead after this was done, it hath been thought fit to change Tenſes.

The Prince is reſolute in his Councils, never netled or doubtful in giving his orders, of all men in the World, he knows beſt how to rank his Parties. *Turenne* laid the Plot of the War, diſpoſed every thing towards the end, and would moſt judiciouſly foreſee all hinderances.

The Princes activeneſs goes beyond what is neceſſary, not to omit any thing that may be uſeful and profitable: Marſhal *Turenne* was as active as he ought to have been, but did nothing ſuperfluous, not to waſt his Army without weighty and ſpecial cauſes.

The Prince is fierce, when he commands, is feared and eſteemed alike. *Turenne* was the more mild, and as much eſteemed, yet made not ſo ſtrictly uſe of his Authority. No ſufficient care can be taken againſt the Princes aſſaults, and he finds a weak part in every ſtrong hold. Marſhal *Turenne* knew how to ſecure himſelf every where, and how upon all occaſions to find his ſafety even againſt probability. In a Fight the Prince knows how to drive on, and to make uſe of his advantages, how out of diſorder and confuſion, to bring again things into order in the very middle of a Battel, a thing rare amongſt men, he makes his men do the very utmoſt of what they are able, doth wholly give up himſelf

to

to action, and seems to be resolved to Conquer or to dye. As to *Turenne*, he omitted nothing of what could make Victory sure to him, he was the better for every thing when he was Fortunate, but when he was not, he preserved every thing that could possibly be so, and ever left grounds of hopes for a better Fortune, and this as an effect either of the evenness and firmness of his nature, or of the long experience he had gotten of good or bad successes, and with the same countenance he came out of all manner of accidents. But the Prince is more sensible of crosses and mischances, but his courage grows stronger thereupon, and his vertue tryed thorough his misfortunes, gets strength enough to Master them. I shall add, how the Prince is one of the best Generals in the World, for very few Months, and *Turenne* for a whole Summers expedition, or a Campagne, and gloriously to end all manner of Military Actions. The Prince is good profitably to make an end of a War, which could prove long, tedious and chargeable, and of a great prejudice to the State, in a word, the Prince can make War with a greater shew for his credit, than *Turenne*, who would carry it on with more benefit and advantage for the party he fought for. After all, I must not deprive the Prince of his advantage, namely, that is he esteemed one of the most knowing and intelligent Persons of his Country, a great Mathematician, so that no Ingeneer can deceive him, besides his Learning, he is able to speak many Languages as his own, which is of a great use for a Prince and a General of an Army.

After

After this ſhort digreſſion, I return to my ſubject where I left it, and ſay, if to put a Nation in a poſture of defence, if to raiſe Forces, and ſettle a Diſcipline amongſt them be lawful, as indeed it is, how great muſt be the error of Anabaptiſts, who would not have Chriſtian Magiſtrates to make uſe of the Sword: They would ſnatch it out of the hands of others to keep it in their own, they forbid others to have that which they allow to themſelves, and they would decide that to be lawful to them which they account unlawful to others: neither is War in its nature unlawful; when Souldiers came to *John Baptiſt*, he did not forbid them to be Souldiers, but only told them, *do no man no wrong, but be ſatisfied with your Pay*, he condemns not the uſe, but the abuſe of a Sword, which in ſeveral caſes ought not to be the Judge or the Rule. Sometimes God uſes it to execute Juſtice on earth, therefore, ſaith Scripture, he gives ſome to Captivity and ſome to the Sword, ſending the deſtroyer to fulfil his judgments. *O Aſſyrian the rod of mine anger, in thy hand is the ſtaff of my indignation.* *Iſaiah* 10. This is a neceſſary and a uſeful way, ſometimes to purge a State of its bad humors, of many idle, corrupt and wicked Members.

Armes are the third thing I mentioned, as neceſſary to the Martial part of Government, without this the courage and ſtrength of men are of little or no uſe: Elephants, Lyons, Oxen, Beares came Armed into the World, but men are born naked and diſarmed, without ſo much as defenſive Armes, therefore what nature hath denyed them, they muſt borrow from art, and ſeek for help

help from Steel, Braſs, Iron, Lead, and other Metals, which they do uſe according to the ſuggeſtions of their reaſon or production of their invention, and of them make offenſive and defenſive Armes: There is a neceſſity to have proviſion of theſe to be made uſe of upon occaſion: In order thereunto, care muſt be taken to have a ſufficient number of good Work-men to make them, which being done, they are laid up in Magazines or Store-houſes, otherwiſe called *Arſenals*, ready for ſervice, and to be taken out when there is occaſion for it; the neceſſity and importancy hereof, is ſo univerſally known, that there is never a Kingdom, Principality, Republick, or Petty Common-wealth, but ſome more, ſome leſs, have made proviſion of Swords, Halbards, Pikes, Piſtols, great and little Guns, Head, Breaſt, and Back-pieces, and all ſuch manner of Armes to defend themſelves or offend others: Now the places where they are kept, ought to lye conveniently to Arm Souldiers, when there is an occaſion to draw them into the Field. They alſo who have any thing to do at Sea, take care to furniſh themſelves with all things neceſſary for Shipping and Navigation, which lye ready, there being thoſe who are appointed to overſee and take care of it.

By the word Armes, I mean, not only what things I already expreſſed, and all other ſorts of Tools and Inſtruments for War, but alſo all other things thereunto belonging, as Powder, Bullets, whether of Lead, Iron or Stone, Match, and whatſoever elſe is neceſſary for Fire-locks and Artillery: In a word, all manner of Ammunition of War: To this head I reduce proviſion of mouth, which

are the Armes againſt Hunger and Want, the moſt dreadful Enemy of all, when this fails to Souldiers, their heart and ſtrength faileth them alſo, they grow into diſcontents, complaints and Mutinies at laſt, inſtead of ſubmitting to Diſcipline, for *Diſciplinam non poteſt ſervare jejunus exercitus*, a Faſting Army cannot be kept under Rule, this is the ſureſt and readieſt way to deſtroy it, which to prevent, they who have Armies, take a timely care of, and make a ſufficient proviſion, and ſo order things, that there ſhall be plenty of Bread and neceſſary proviſions, and ſold at reaſonable rates in the Camp, and in time of Peace they lay up ſtore of Corn, and make other preparations for War, remembering the ſentence of *Publius*, *Diu apparandum eſt bellum, ut vincas celerius.* The more one is before hand in making preparations for War, the ſooner he will overcome, for things being diſpoſed before hand, one is wholly bent upon the execution; ſo then that State which hath choſen Officers and Souldiers well Diſciplined, Armed, Fed, Cloathed and Paid, may ſay he is in a good War-like poſture.

Caſſiod.

Moneys do all this, and without it any of them can hardly be done. This truth is ſo well known, and all men are ſo perſwaded of it, that it would be ſuperfluous either to inſiſt upon the neceſſity of it, or to go about to invite Rulers of Nations to get ſome, this is the pole which the thoughts of moſt men are turned to, this Load-ſtone draws all their affections, and their deſires like ſo many lines do tend to this Center: Therefore all the difficulty conſiſts in the keeping of Moneys, or in the

the right laying of them out: Indeed this is not only the ſinew of War, but alſo the life and ſpirit of States, whereof the motions do ſo much depend upon it, that [b] one ſaith, That Moneys are the ſinews of the Empire or of Government: *Opus ſunt opes, & ſine iis nihil fiet quod opus*, ſaith *Demoſthenes*, and [c] with Money one can buy every thing, according to *Ariſtotle's* Opinion. A ſilver Sword conquers all Enemies, takes all Places, maſters the Minds and Hearts of men, and is the Head, Hands, Feet, and all in all of States, and doth ſo many other things, which I expreſſed in the foregoing Part of this Book: Only I will add three things relating to my preſent purpoſe. Firſt, Seeing Moneys muſt be had, none but lawful and honeſt means ought to be uſed to get it, of which Cuſtoms upon imported or exported Commodities are eaſie when they be moderate; and yet there are ſome ſorts brought in, as Silks, Sugars, *&c.* which the richeſt ſort of Subjects do buy: Wines, Tobacco, and the like, which being not reckoned amongſt Neceſſaries for Life, 'tis fit thoſe who buy them, ſhould pay for their curioſity, delicacy, or fancy. Yet when theſe Cuſtoms are exceeding, Trade ſuffers much thereby, and when Taxes grow heavy upon Subjects, 'tis dangerous Diſorders will follow; for as men are very tender of their Purſe, ſo great Impoſitions ever have been one of the chief Cauſes of Diſturbances and Revolutions in States.

[b] *Mucian. apud Dionem.*

[c] Πάντα ὤνια τῷ πλέτῳ.

The 2d thing is, Thoſe Moneys which are thus raiſed, muſt be imployed for the Advantage and Honour of the State, and not to ſerve particular

Ends and Self-intereſt, nothing vexing ſo much a People, as to ſee thoſe Moneys miſapplyed which they have given to good ends; for as there is in many men a diſpoſition to diſcontents, nothing makes them break forth more than the fancy they have to be cheated or fooled, as they call it, wherein indeed many ſubjects are to blame, in that they diſclaim againſt all manner of Taxes and Cuſtoms; for they would enjoy liberty, protection, and other publick advantages, and yet contribute nothing towards it. But this I will hereafter ſpeak of more at large; and come to tell the third thing, which is that of thoſe Moneys raiſed upon the publick for a publick good; that which remains and is ſaved from the preſent occaſions and neceſſities of the State, may well be laid up in a publick Stock, to be uſed hereafter upon occaſion, which it is not ſafe to be without, to ſupply not only the ordinary but alſo the extraordinary charges which ſometimes the State is unexpectedly put upon, ſpecially about Military accounts, in relation to which Moneys are neceſſary moſt of all.

Now I will proceed to the political and fourth part of Government, which is to be the ſubject of this Book; for as in my laſt I treated of a private and contemplative, ſo now I intend to ſpeak of a publick and active Life, according to the ſeveral wayes taken by Gentlemen when they come to ſettle at Home.

Plutar. in vita Caton. Maj.

No man can attain to a more perfect vertue than is the politick; and *Ariſtotle* hath given the name of Politick to the beſt Book he ever compoſed, whereby is ſhewed the excellency of that

that Art. We eſteem much a Phyſitian who knows Diſtempers ſo well, as to preſcribe fit and proper Remedies, ſpecially if he be ſo skilled as to foreſee by means of Symptoms, and then to prevent Sickneſſes: Much more is he to be valued, who is ſo acquainted with the nature of diſorders of States, as to know and then apply ſuitable Remedies, yet he is more to be commended if he can prevent it; here I ſpeak of Application, for herein lyes the knot of Policy, becauſe things do ſo much diverſifie, and circumſtances of time, place, and perſons are ſo conſiderable, that that which is beneficial to one at one time, will prove hurtful to another, yea to the ſame at another: If the Art be ſo commendable whereby ſome can tame Bears, Lyons, Elephants, and ſuch wild creatures, how much more ought that to be, whereby ſome men often wilder and more unruly, are kept in Peace and Order, and drawn to a Rational Society?

This Art being ſo deſirable, and ſo hard to be acquired, 'tis no wonder if ſo many aim at, and ſo few attain to it: the beſt things are the moſt difficult to come by; ſo many things conducing to this, as are knowledge, experience, prudence and favour, have much ado at the ſame time to meet in us, which is not enough for others, muſt alſo take notice of it: the Subject muſt be qualified for the place he aſpires to, there muſt be ſome good natural parts and diſpoſitions to it, and an Application to things of that kind: And as to the point in hand, there ought to be a knowledge of affairs of the World, and of particular intereſts of Princes, which is much helped by the underſtanding of Geography and Hiſtory, of the ſituation of their Countries and of their Neighbours,

ſo of their Families, Alliances of Blood and State: He who is Learned, Eloquent, hath ſeen the World, and in ſome meaſure hath fitted himſelf for Counſel and Execution, hath merit and capacity to ſerve in publick Affairs: But often for want of occaſion to make theſe things appear to thoſe in whoſe hands lyes the diſtribution of theſe employments, they are hidden Talents. Indeed in this above all other Publick Employments, a great nicety is required, ſeeing ſo much depends upon it, and the competition which is ſometimes between men of an equal weight and merit, makes the choice of it the more difficult, and the compariſon which is to be made, alters the caſe, for he who is thought to be the fitteſt, ought to be preferred to the reſt; and obſerve, that as one ſingle blemiſh is enough to ſpoil a good face, ſo in ſuch men, one bad quality can weigh down all the good ones they are endued withall.

In theſe things Vertue and Merit often receive great help from favour, many things cannot be done by a man, which are carryed on by the credit of his Friends. Theſe Truſts cannot be gotten without Praiſes and Commendations, which if a man would give himſelf, it would be accounted, not only want of Modeſty and Prudence, but alſo Vanity and Impudency, but ſuch things become the Tongue of a Friend, if he be eſteemed by thoſe whom he is commending the other to, wherein he ought to be very ſhy, for nothing diſparages a man's judgment, as highly to commend one for Vertue and Merit, who at laſt proves to have no ſuch things, this makes him forfeit the good Opinion which others had of him; this is the Reaſon why ſo few are willing to engage

for

for others very forward, except they know them particularly, or have ſome private end of their own, to hinder thoſe whom they diſlike, or to make thoſe, whom they oblige thus, their Creatures, *&c.*

But the Abilities and the Favour I have ſpoken of, are not gotten at once, but come by degrees; we ſay, *Men do buſineſſes, and buſineſſes make men,* in every thing there is a beginning, a progreſs, and an end or perfection; thus it hath been with the moſt learned Divines and Philoſophers, with the ableſt Lawyers and moſt experienced Phyſitians; the greateſt Doctor hath been a School-boy, ſo the wiſeſt Stateſman was once a Novice, but he who hath good natural Parts, if he be active and judicious, will improve them thorough his Diligence; for ſaith a wiſe King, *Do you ſee a man diligent in his buſineſs, he will not ſtand before mean Perſons, but will ſtand before Kings?* Prov. 22.29.

The firſt ſtep one makes towards this, is to have a Friend at Court; then the next is to appear there; afterwards to be taken notice of for his civil and prudent Carriage, or ſome other good qualities he hath; he is after this to ſtrive to keep up the good Opinion which either he hath already gotten, or his Friends are willing to give of him: The wayes of attaining to this are different, and often contrary according to times, cuſtoms, the nature of the Prince, of his Miniſters, and of thoſe who are in Favour, for there every one hath his Ends, Intereſts, and Intrigues; here it is as at Sea, where Winds are contrary, one is to know when to go on, when to come back, how to yield and ſhelter himſelf, how to ſtrike Sailes, how to run before the Wind, and how to range and

make it a ſide Wind when it is contrary. A Courtier's life is full of care, unſetled, many loſe good part of their ſleep, to think how to carry on their Deſigns, how to avoid being ſupplanted, or how to ſupplant others: Some make their ſtudy to find out the Genius and Inclinations of thoſe whom they have a mind to pleaſe, becauſe they can be uſeful to them; and then they comply and flatter them therein, which flattery is the more dangerous, either becauſe it is a common Practice, or a Diſtemper thought to be incurable, Submiſſion and Flatteries being the ordinary means which ſome men uſe to obtain favours from others; this proceeding from that ſelf-love inherent to humane Nature, whereby men delight to be applauded and commended for what they do, and hate to be blamed and gain-ſaid in what they ſay or do, though it were never ſo abſurd; wherefore an *Italian* Poet ſaith well: *Arioſt.*

Pazzo chi al ſuo Signor contradir' vuole,
Se ben diceſſe, che da mezzo giorno
Viſto hà le ſtelle, & à mezze notte il ſole.

That is, he is a Fool who gain-ſayes his Maſter, even when he ſaith, he hath ſeen the Sky full of Stars at noon, and the Sun at midnight.

Great is the Task of him who follows the Court, both to obſerve others and himſelf in his Diſcourſes, Actions, Geſtures, Cloaths, *&c.* to make Friends and no Enemies; he muſt not be tempted with the Promiſes of ſome, who promiſe much to many, but give nothing to none; nor moved with ſeveral reports; for Courts never want thoſe who conſtantly endeavour to introduce Novelties, by reaſon of the lazy Life ſome lead, of the fineneſs of their Wit, or the maliciouſneſs of

of their Humour. Farther, at the ſame time, may be, he muſt reſiſt the moſt violent Effects of his own Corruption, the moſt inticing Charms of the World, and the moſt dangerous Deſigns of his Enemies, which he muſt not faint under, nor be lifted up with the ſmiles of his Friends; but like a skilful Pilot, he is to Sail between theſe Rocks, looking only upon the Prince, and directly aiming at his Service.

When I ſay ſo, I ſuppoſe him already preferred to ſome employment, whether at Court or Abroad, as Secretary of ſome Ambaſſage, Reſident or Envoy Extraordinary, according to his Capacity and Quality: Let him be careful how he carries himſelf in his firſt Employment; for as he ſucceeds therein, ſo he is like to ſpeed for the future; and according to the Opinion which men will firſt conceive of him, he will receive advantage or ſuffer prejudice for the future. Beſides this, in his abſence 'twill be neceſſary for him to have at Court ſome Friend, able and willing to do him good Offices, to hinder others from doing him any bad ones, to cry up his Experience, Fidelity and Services. Men of Quality and Eſtate, will ſometimes examine what proportion there is between them and the Employments they are offered or pretend to, becauſe they already are or think themſelves to be great enough. But a man of Fortune, I mean him who hath none, or is willing to raiſe the inconſiderable one he hath, muſt have no ſuch Conſiderations, and muſt not think it a ſhame to begin with Employment not very conſiderable; for when by degrees they are raiſed to the moſt Important, they are more able to adminiſter them; as a General of an Army who

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is passed thorough all Military Charges, and at last is come to the highest of all, is fitter to command, than he whom only birth or favour have called to that place.

Some are so greedy of Employment in this way, that they leave nothing unattempted to come to't, but for being so busie they never have it the sooner, their Sollicitations, Bribes, Importunities, and Promises, do often prove vain and successless, but the worst of it is, that often they make use of unlawful and dishonest means to attain thereunto, wherein they discover a corrupt Principle in them, which their Superiors take notice of, but as they have gotten them with shame, so they administer it with dishonour, and sometimes go out like a snuff: True honest and wise men, receive Honours, Riches, and great Charges, when offered by Providence the favour of the Prince, and the care of Friends, but seek them not unhandsomly and with greedinesse, for God is wise, prudent, and good, whom we ought to commit to the event of all our concerns, for as he is no accepter of Persons, so he will not alter the Course of his Providence for all men in the World; therefore they who have missed Charges, and are fallen from their Expectation, ought not to fret, or too much lay it to heart, because what in their foolish apprehension they thought would be their advantage, might have proved on the contrary, and if they understood it well, they would account it a favour, for either God hath something better for them, as 'tis shewed in time and by experience, or else such a thing might have been a Snare, which thus they are delivered of.

But

But to understand the necessity and nature of politick Charges we now speak of, we must go higher to their Ground and Causes, and as this is intended for Monarchies more than for other sorts of Government; so what I am to say, shall be more nearly related to it. A King or another Soveraign Prince, is supposed to be endued of God with personal Abilities to govern, of which the first is, that he who is to rule many, is to know how to rule himself, for saith one, *Summa sapientia in rege est seipsum regere*, the greatest wisdom of a King, is to rule himself, for certainly the task of a Prince is greater than that of his Subjects, in as much as it is harder to know how to command, than how to obey, he who knows what he is commanded, knows also what he is to do, but he who commands, must know that which is fit or not to be commanded, therefore in him is required a Spirit of discernment, to know right from wrong, and good from evil, to master his own Passions, if ever he will be a wise and a just King, for except he master's himself, he is in danger of being the Tyrant of others; but if he can and doth settle a calm within himself, he will more quietly and effectually rule over others.

Yet suppose a King to be endued with every Royal Quality, to govern is so important an Office, and the weight of it so heavy, that it is usual with Princes to discharge part of the burthen upon the Shoulders of others: Thus *Moses* that great Law-giver appointed some to assist him therein, indeed a Prince cannot be every where to administer Justice to his People, and if it be so in the civil Part of the Government; how much

much more reason is there to use it about the politick part of it? therefore he chooses Privy-Counsellors or Counsellors of State, whose advice and assistance he asks and takes as there is occasion for't, and 'tis his wisdom and happiness to choose good ones; these are called Friends of the State,

Tacit. *Nullum majus boni Imperii instrumentum quàm boni amici*: No greater help to a good Government than are good Friends; which expression in this time would be accounted too familiar, and therefore have rather to call them wise and faithful Subjects, called to that high place of trust and favour, men of probity and known integrity, wise and prudent, who understand well the Constitution of their and other Nations, who have a general Approbation, and can undergo both

Seneca. Fortunes; *Omnia cum amico delibera de illo priùs*; Let the advice of a Friend be heard in every thing, but do not rashly choose such a Friend, take time before to consider of it. One must not in haste be made a Minister of State, but after a mature deli-

Voll. *paterculus*. beration the reason is given, *Magna negotia magnis adjutoribus ageret*, a great assistance is required to manage great Affairs: now the most important Affairs of the World are managed by Princes and their Ministers, whom also some would have come to riper years; for though 'tis not unpossible for some young men to be qualified for such a place, yet 'tis not usual; for the Counsel of young men proved very fatal to *Rehoboam*, they can hardly be fit under thirty years, except it be some extraordinary Person; yet when they are very old, they grow slow and timorous,

timorous, and avoid giving vigorous Counsels; therefore a mixture of both proves sometimes beneficial.

Solon the great Law-giver at *Athens* admitted none to be Magistrates that were young, but only men of riper years, as being more free of Passions, and not given to excesses, as often young men are, who do not delight to eat or drink much, like the Gods of *Homer*, out of whose works this is translated, *Non comedunt fruges, non potant fervida vina*; as the strength of their body decayes, that of the mind doth increase, *Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum*; Some of these advantages attending old Age, he names in another place.----*Venior & melior fis accedente senectâ*, old Age makes one better and meeker, yet not every one. Hor. *de arte Poet.*

In all their Consultations they must give marks of Piety, and tell freely and in conscience their mind according to the Oath they take, before they be admitted to it, and be constant to their Resolutions; yet with moderation and without obstinacy, they must be of a quiet mind and modest behaviour, faithful and secret. *Solomon* saith, there is safety in the multitude of Counsellors; therefore in most Countreys where much is yielded to Laws, upon affairs of great concernment, many are called in to give their Advice; but sometimes some businesses requiring great speed and secrecy, (which can hardly be expected, where are so many heads of different Opinions, and so many tongues) a Council of few select Persons, hath been esteemed to be the best, being at hand ready to meet upon set dayes or on Emergencies, only they are to avoid private grudges of one against another,

another, for then very likely their Councils will be ſubſervient to their Paſſion, and not to the intereſt of the Prince or State, which joyned to obſtinacy, will go nigh to ſtop their Reſolutions by continual contradicting of one another, and ſuch particular Diſputes ever tend to publick prejudice, they are alſo to avoid Partialities and Coveteouſneſs, whereby they become corruptible, and ſo in them are deſtroyed Fidelity and Probity, two grounds of good Council, which too much confidence and truſt are contrary to, though they be very neceſſary to execution.

Seeing Wiſdom is ſo neceſſary to Stateſmen, I believe the Philoſophy of *Stoicians* conduces to make good ones: Of wiſe men they had three ſorts or degrees, they firſt they called Beginners, who labour to free themſelves from error in Opinion, and flattery of Paſſions, who take a full Reſolution againſt Vice, and endeavour to maſter themſelves by the Rules of Vertue. So 'tis a great diſpoſition to politick Wiſdom, when a man goes about to inform his judgment and to get a ſound heart. The ſecond degree is, of thoſe who thorough the practice of Vertue, have overcome all their great Paſſions, and who rule over their violent and impetuous Motions, without any danger of ever falling under their Power. This indeed is a great Point hard to be obtained, or rather never to be obtained without a ſpecial grace of God in a Spiritual way, but however in a Politick way, this may be the Fruit of the ſtrivings and fighting againſt Error and Paſſion. The third Degree they called *Apathy*, or a vertuous inſenſibility which ſets a man above all things, and who is not moved with good or evil, and

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ſuffers not the leaſt ſtirrings of Paſſions, but according as they are approved of by reaſon: This they accounted very rare, and good reaſon for't, and I take it to be unpoſſible it ſhould be found in any man; well, however whether or not this can be attained to, 'tis that perfection which every one is to labour after, though herein People are ſhewed what ought to be done, more than what can be done: Out of this I conclude, that as one who is to rule over others, is to be maſter of himſelf; ſo Stateſmen to whom Princes do impart their Authority, ought to aſpire and ſtrive after that Victory over themſelves, it being their Wiſdom ſo to do, and one of the moſt neceſſary qualifications to the exerciſe of their Miniſtery.

Which the better to do, very often they propound to themſelves a Pattern to be imitated, and often they ſucceed therein, but this ought to be done with Caution, for imitation leads to evil as eaſily as to good; one muſt not blindly follow all that which others have done, let them have been never ſo great Stateſmen, their Vertues are to be imitated but not their Vices, whatſoever hath been good in them may be embraced, and that rejected which hath been a blemiſh to their Glory; if Rules do ſometimes fail, much more examples, particular things being not ſo ſure as Generals, for *Particular men can deceive and be deceived, but never one man deceived all, as all never deceived one man.*

Singuli decipere & decipi poſſunt nemo omnes, neminem omnes feſellerunt, Plinius Paneg.

The great Reaſon why Examples are to be followed with caution, is this, thorough the ſame means

means, often ſome are come to contrary ends, as we have many examples of it in Hiſtory: For as things do alter and Conjunctions are different, ſo 'tis the Prudence of one to diverſifie his Method; ſome thorough Meekneſs and Clemency conquered Kingdoms, others loſt them thorough the ſame. Severity hath proved fatal to ſome and ſucceſsful to others: And this Rule here is the more certain, becauſe of the Convertibility of Propoſitions; for as ſome thorough the ſame means are come to contrary ends, ſo others thorough contrary means are arrived to the ſame end. The ground of the Victories of *Manlius Torquatus*, was the fear which his Army had of him; on the contrary, the Love which the Army of *Valerius Cominus* did bear him, got him ſeveral times the Victory; Fear and Love grounded upon Severity and Meekneſs, produced here the ſame effect. Thorough Cruelty *Annibal* made ſuch Progreſs in *Italy*, and thorough kindneſs and a gentle uſage, *Spain* was conquered by *Scipio*. And not to go ſo far, and to come to examples of Stateſmen, within theſe few years in the ſame Kingdom, two great Miniſters of State ſucceeding one to another, had their Ends by contrary means; the Ends of Cardinal *Richelieu* and *Mazarin*, were certainly to keep and maintain themſelves in the Place of chief Miniſters wherein they were placed: *Richelieu* was ambitious, and *Mazarin* covetous (I ſpeak of the predominant Paſſion) both aſpired to one and the ſame End thorough contrary means; the former raiſed all his Friends, but deſtroyed all his Enemies; the laſt neglected too much his Friends, and bought at too dear a rate the friendſhip of his Enemies.

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Theſe things then ought to be uſed ſometimes ſingle, one now, and then another, and mixed at other times; for as Harmony is made of ſeveral Sounds, the body of ſeveral Humours, and the World of contrary Elements, ſo in a well regulated State from the variety of Opinions, of Tempers, of Wayes, and of Qualities, ariſeth ſometimes a pleaſant and uſeful Harmony, as Choler gives an edge to Juſtice, and Vices ſometimes make Vertues ſtronger; even as we ſee the worſt of Poiſons enter into the Compoſition of the beſt Antidotes, ſtill obſerving a neceſſary Proportion, for the contrary Qualities of the Ingredients are tempered one by another: In the ſame manner Wiſe Stateſmen, with their Skill and Prudence, draw great advantages to the State from ſeveral Accidents, making a right uſe of, and directing them to a good End, to which they do concur, though contrary amongſt themſelves.

But ſome Circumſtances do much alter the Caſe, ſo that a Deſign will ſucceed in one place, and not in another. *Philip* the Second having been ſucceſsful in depriving the Kingdom of *Arragon* of its Rights and Priviledges, (which *Ferdinand*, though a great Stateſman, never dared to attempt) had the ſame Deſign upon the Low-Countries; to that effect he ſent thither the Duke of *Alva*, but he was miſtaken in the Event: *Arragon* was near him, and thus ſoon over-powered, but many Princes near the *Neatherlands*, had time to ſend to their relief; for this ſame reaſon the ſame *Alva* had afterwards a good ſucceſs in *Portugal*, which he could not get in *Flanders*: The truth is, he did but ſtir the Humours in theſe Countries, and had no time to purge them tho-

roughly; therefore it was well ſaid, it had been better for the King of *Spain*, never to have ſent him into thoſe Parts, or not to have called him away before he had made an end of applying thoſe violent Remedies, which his cruel nature had ſuggeſted to him.

But ſeeing the Authority of Miniſters of State is not their own, but derived, before I engage farther in this matter, it will be fit to go up to the Spring whence they receive it, that it may be underſtood how they may rule their Counſels, Deſigns and Actions.

Therefore it is important to know what Authority and Greatneſs are, which we ought not to judge of according to the ſeveral corrupt Opinions of men, they are ſo fallible, that in reaſon we cannot make it our Rule, they think ſo variouſly and ſo contrarily of it, that we may not ſo much as hope to find this truth amongſt them, all this they do out of corrupt Principles; for ſome love it, becauſe they ſee in it, Honours, Riches, and Pleaſures, which are the things they deſire; others hate it, becauſe it humbles and keeps them under, and makes them ſenſible of the Privation of the Goods they are ſo deſirous of. They value it even to admiration, being dazled with the brightneſs and power thereof; and they deſpiſe it, or would ſeem ſo to do, being willing to raiſe themſelves in their own Fancy, above thoſe who are in Poſſeſſion of it, making to themſelves an imaginary greatneſs, undervaluing thoſe who are inveſted therewith, yet moſt (except they be Cynicks and of a dogiſh Temper) ſeeing no means or probability of climbing up to them, chooſe by their Submiſſions, to ſhare in their Goods and Favours,

Favours, rather than thorough vain Pride and Obſtinacy be altogether deprived thereof, and the continual dependency upon and dayly neceſſity they are in of them, do diſſipate their hatred and inclines them to yield reſpect and honour.

But *Cynicks* are of a different Temper; for not being able to content their Ambition, with attaining to Authority, endeavour at leaſt to ſatisfie their malice, with deſpiſing thoſe who are in it; for being reſolved by all means to be great amongſt men, ſeeing they cannot really attain to it, they wean off this way, and fancy another in their own conceit, deſpiſing outwardly that which they ſo much value in their heart, and ſeeming to avoid and not care for that which they are ſo deſirous of, and do ſo earneſtly long after. One ſpeaks judiciouſly of this ſort of men; *Seeing*, ſay they, *we cannot attain to Authority, let us ſpeak ill of it to be avenged on it.* *Montague's* *Non ſunt huic ſtomacho dulcia pyro meo.* Eſſays. Said the Fox, when he could not get the Pares, they were not good for him. Theſe are true effects of Pride, yet diſguiſed under the name of Philoſophers; for ſome of the moſt refined ſort of them who had good worldly Accommodations, ſeeing themſelves thereby eſteemed and reſpected by their Inferiors and the Commonalty, had alſo the Ambition to get the good Opinion of learned men and Philoſophers, therefore in their Diſcourſes and Writings, they ſeemingly deſpiſed power and greatneſs, yet they were wiſe enough to attain to and maintain themſelves in it; and *Seneca*, for all his writing againſt Riches, was never prevailed upon to part with his own: All which ſhews, we are not to follow

the Suggeſtions of Luſt and Corruption for or againſt Authority and Superiors; nay often we ought to miſtruſt our reaſon, becauſe of the Affinity it hath with our Paſſions, whereby uſually her judgment is corrupted in reference to objects; ſo that we muſt ſeek for ſurer Rules and Directions, which true Chriſtian Religion only is able to afford; for ſhe alone can diſcern Sin from Grace, Truth from Falſehood, and Good from Evil; ſhe alone can diſtinguiſh in Authority the falſe and imaginary Advantages given to it, by our ambition from the true ones, which our malice would attempt to deprive it of.

For want of this Principle, the Stoician *Diogenes* behaved himſelf with ſo much Moroſity, and ſo little reſpect towards *Alexander* the Great, who deſiring he would ask ſomething of him, anſwered, *What I deſire of you, is, that you deprive me not of what you cannot give me, and that you would not ſtand between the Sun and me.* But we need not to go ſo far back to find thoſe, who as froward as he, are much wanting in the reſpect they owe to Authority, denying them who are inveſted therewith; thoſe common tokens of Honour and Civility which we uſe one towards another, as may be putting of ones Hat, and this under pretence of Religion, as if by it civility and reſpect were to be baniſhed out of humane Society; on the contrary, Scripture bids us to render honour and to pay tribute to ſuperior Powers: The ſame who ſay, fear God, doth alſo ſay, honour the King. Of ſuch deſpiſers of Dominions, the Apoſtle St. *Jude* gives a very bad Character.

Others who take a way contrary to this, are in the wrong too, for they raiſe ſo high the diſtinc-

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on between Superiors and Inferiors, and ſet ſuch a value upon worldly greatneſs, that often they make a leſs difference between a Man and a Beaſt, than between him who is high Born, and another who is of a low Extraction. To be a man of Quality is ſo eminent a thing with them, that all other Qualities, whether Humane or Divine, are nothing in compariſon of this; they prefer it to wit, wiſdom, vertue, even to the Quality of a Chriſtian at leaſt in their Opinion: For, how few are thoſe who really do prefer a true Chriſtian of a low Birth, to him who is high Born, though vitious? This indeed is to have a falſe Idea of things; for Birth it ſelf gives no advantage of Body or Spirit, and takes away no defect; for we ſee as many and as great ones in them, as in the loweſt ſort of men: Neverthel ſs, becauſe there ought to be an order amongſt men, upon juſt and lawful Grounds, in moſt places it hath been found fit and neceſſary to prefer ſuch to others, and give them priviledges of Honour, all which is well if we keep within bounds: But of this Arbitarary Order, to make an indiſpenſable and neceſſary one, and not only give them that outward reſpect lawfully due to them, but alſo thoſe inwards which are not due to them, and which ariſe only out of our error and corruption. They fancy high things of that condition, as if happineſs was annexed to it; and the more thoſe who are about Princes and great men, admire their greatneſs, the more they deſire it for themſelves; and conſequently the more dangerous they are to thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of it, and the ſooner they would attempt to diveſt them of it, if there was an occaſion. Nevertheleſs, as the

number of ſuch admirers is very great, and as in their Diſpoſition, the Malignity hidden is not lookt upon, only the outward reſpects they ſhew great men; theſe make it part of their imaginary Felicity, this opinion and ſubmiſſions of others flattering much the Ambition of great Perſons.

The Opinion then which ſuch men have of Authority and Greatneſs, and that which great men upon this account have of themſelves, is very wrong; for often theſe marks of humane greatneſs, as may be Honour, Riches, and the like, are ſo far from being goods, that often they are occaſion of much evil, being a great hinderance to Piety and Salvation: All theſe are Matters of Temptation; ſo that this Vindication contains eaſie wayes of Deſtruction, but hard ones of Salvation; this Opinion of theirs is grounded upon Corruption and Error, and is a meer effect of Fancy without Solidity, as Philoſophy alone can ſhew, as I ſaid before; but as it delivers us from one Error, it draws us into another, which is to the contempt of Authority and Superiority; for I am not to value a man more than my ſelf, when he is more miſerable than I, lyable to more dangers; yet we know there are indiſpenſable Duties from Inferiors to Superiors; charged on us by Piety, which never requires, but that which is true and juſt in Authority and Power, that ought to be valued, which God hath given to it, and that which humane Flattery attributes to it, ought to be ſlighted.

Now the true Rule and Touchſtone how to know this, is taught us by Religion, which ſhews that neceſſary diſtinction, and diſcovers to us that which Authority hath indeed from God, and

that which it hath from the Error and Fancy of men. But the better to underſtand this, one muſt know how to make up that which is called Authority or Superiority; three things are concurring, whereof one is bad, another good, and the third more or leſs good or bad, according as it agrees with either of the two; theſe three things are Luſt, [a] Reaſon and Religion; the firſt deſires it out of Pride and Ambition of domineering one over another, which is properly an effect of ſin; had it not been for the Fall of *Adam*, as between men there had been an equality of Nature, ſo there had been no inequality in the Condition, for men were not made properly and truly to command one over another; for elſe the Will of one man had been the Rule of that of another, which is not, the Will of God being the only univerſal Law which all men ought to be conformed unto; but after ſin the Caſe is altered, man's Paſſion being grown ſo corrupt, that amongſt them an inequality is unavoidable: But as every one would be the Maſter and none the Servant, ſo all would lord one over another, which being unpoſſible, either Reaſon muſt order it, or Force decide it, the ſtrongeſt becoming the Maſter, and the weakeſt the Servant; hence ariſeth the Superiority we ſpeak of, which being ſetled by men, is called *of Inſtitution*, to diſtinguiſh it from that which is called *Natural Authority*, as of Parents over their Children.

[a] *Or Concupiſcence.*

Out of this Conſideration, that the mind of men is too blind after ſin, to guide and direct him well, even in things relating to a civil Life and common Society, and that his will is too ſtubborn

and corrupt, to ſubmit to, or long to continue in Peace and Quietneſs; Reaſon approves of this ſubjection of ſome men to others, not only becauſe it is unavoidable, but alſo becauſe it is found uſeful and neceſſary, and therefore conſents it ſhould be attended with Laws and Engagements, binding men to obedience to their Superiors; now the Obſervation of theſe Laws, muſt be committed to the care of ſome inveſted with Power to puniſh the Breakers thereof, which can never be effected, except to avoid Wranglings and Diſputes, precedency be given to ſome over others, and this difference of Degree and Dignity is ſeen in the Firmament, where one Star doth differ from another in Glory, the influence of ſome being more powerful than of others: Yet to make no Confuſion, I muſt ſay, that difference between Stars is natural, when that between men is not, being a Production of man's Wit, yea, the Maſter-piece of humane Prudence, and the moſt beneficial thing that could be found in the World.

But Sin and Reaſon alone are not ſufficient to make lawful the Authority of ſome over others; Religion muſt come in, for no man hath power to diſpoſe of himſelf or others, without the leave and conſent of him who hath power over all. In a Town (whereof the ſupream Authority reſides only and abſolutely in a ſingle Perſon) the People may not without contempt of Authority and Rebellion, chooſe themſelves a Prince or Governour, but they muſt ſubmit to him, upon whom their Soveraign hath conferred his Power. So God having an abſolute Right over all men, who to ſpeak properly are but his Slaves; for he may

may without diſpute diſpoſe of their Eſtates, Perſons, and Lives, nothing in this kind may be done without his Authority and Conſent, as it was done in the Election of the firſt and ſecond Kings of *Iſrael*, *Saul* and *David*, who were anointed by the Prophet, and had a particular Calling of God before the People had voted them Kings; as to the Election of the firſt, it was wholly from God, for he was choſen by *Lot*, and the Right of the King and Rules of the Kingdom were written by *Samuel*. Although God did not appear ſo viſibly in the Choice which other Nations made of their Rulers, yet certainly their Choice, without his Authority, could have ſignified nothing, becauſe to him alone belongs the Right of Superiority, and therefore he alone may and can communicate it to others, all the reſt are but ſtreams derived from that Spring; without this all Torments and Death wherewith men are puniſhed, will be meer Murthers becauſe they want a lawful Authority. 1 *Sam.* 10. 25.

God approves that men ſhould make Rules to be ruled by, that they ſhould chooſe men to be over them, whom he confirmeth and communicates his Authority to, ſetting as it were his Hand and Seal to theſe humane Deeds and Writings; and then, as Scripture ſaith, *By him Kings Reign and Princes do Rule*; Or elſe as 'tis ſaid elſewhere, *They ſet up Governours*, but not by him; wherefore, *When he hath given in his Anger, he takes away in his Fury*, and deſtroyes what men have been building up; ſo that it appears how neceſſary it is for People who go about ſo important a thing as ſuch Elections are, to call upon God for

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a Bleſſing upon their Counſels. This Conſideration of Religion doth much ſtrengthen the Authority of Princes, who being Miniſters of God, and Vice-gerents on Earth, cannot be abuſed, but it muſt reflect on him who hath conferred on them that Character and part of his Authority; and they who fear God the beſt, are certainly thoſe who honour Authority the moſt, it being a ſure Maxim, that the beſt Chriſtians are ever the beſt Subjects, for they know and believe the Apoſtles Doctrine, *To be ſubject to Principalities and Powers, and to obey Magiſtrates.* For, *There is no power but of God, the Powers that be, are ordained of God, and whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God.* Hence it appears, how this Power of men, is part of, and depends upon the Authority and Power of God, which he is pleaſed to impart to ſome men for the Good of others; ſo that as there is nothing in the World more juſt than the Power of God, after it there is alſo nothing more juſt than that which is derived therefrom lawfully and without Uſurpation.

Tit. 3. 1. *Rom.* 13. 1, 2.

Therefore as Kingſhip and other ſorts of Governments, and the Perſons who are to adminiſter them, do depend upon the Choice of the People, who alſo makes over to them, the Power it hath upon himſelf and can diſpoſe of, ſo the ſupream Authority can by God alone be communicated to them, juſt as we ſee Ordination in the Church made by Miniſters, yet in the Name and by the Authority of Chriſt, thus with the Matter in hand, with the conſent of the People, the approbation of God muſt concur to make

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this Authority lawful; hence it is that they are called *Miniſters of God*, and not of the People. For this Reaſon chiefly it is unlawful for Subjects to attempt any thing againſt their Perſon or Authority, from whoſe Subjection they may not be diſpenſed by any humane Power; ſo that to rebel is a wickedneſs, and they who do ſo, bring upon themſelves the guilt of every ones Death who is killed in that Cauſe, the power of Life and Death belonging to him alone who hath the Right of the Sword, and is a ſpecial Priviledge of him only who hath right to uſe it.

Yet herein ſome difference is to be made of thoſe Governments which are exerciſed by ſingle Perſons, and of thoſe whereof the Authority reſides in the People, much of this depending upon the Laws and Conſtitutions of Nations: For as it is unlawful in Monarchies, for many to attempt upon the Authority of the Sovereign, ſo in Republicks, where the Power is in the Hands of many, 'tis unlawful for a ſingle man to go about to alter it, and take it wholly to himſelf; ſo that in the choice which the People makes of Rulers, either he reſerves to himſelf the chief Authority, and then 'tis meerly Democratical, as we ſee in *Holland*, where the States-General are but Deputies of the Town, without whoſe Directions they cannot act; or elſe he wholly diveſts himſelf of it, to transfer it to one Perſon and Family, which is called a ſucceſſive and hereditary Monarchy, or elſe confers it on a ſingle Perſon only for Life, and this upon certain Conditions to be obſerved by the Perſon choſen, who being dead, the right of Election returns to thoſe who elected him, as 'tis in *Poland* with the Nobility and Gentry.

try. As to ſucceſſive Monarchies, though there be ſome difference in't, ſome being leſs abſolute and more tyed to Laws and Cuſtoms than others, yet when once the Sovereignty is made over to a Family, it is not in the Power of thoſe who gave to recall it, except it were with the free Will and Conſent of thoſe who received it, or elſe the conveniency and advantage of that Government, would prove the greateſt Inconveniency in the World, and a perpetual ground of Factions and Troubles; and herein lyes the great Prerogative of Monarchs of this kind, *viz.* that Power being once ſetled in their Hands, there it becomes ſacred and inviolable, when Vertue and Merit meet in their Perſons, it makes them eminently Glorious; yet though the want of theſe makes them forfeit the eſteem of their Subjects, it muſt never derogate from the Obedience they owe them.

Hence it appears how the Jeſuitical Doctrine of killing and pulling down Tyrants and Hereticks, is contrary to Piety and Loyalty of Subjects to their Princes; good Lord, after theſe Principles, What Prince can be ſure of his Life? What Nation is there in the World, but ever one or other in't complained of the Government? There are two ſorts of Tyrants, thoſe who againſt all manner of Right, by the way of Force or Deceit do uſurp (whence they are called Uſurpers) the Authority belonging to others, and thoſe who indeed in a lawful way arrive to the ſupream Power, but do ſubvert all Laws and manner of Juſtice, tearing to pieces thoſe who are committed to their Care and Protection: As to the firſt, no doubt but all Subjects are bound in Conſcience

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in their Station and Calling, and by lawful means to oppoſe them in the Defence of thoſe who have a lawful Authority when they attempt to uſurp it. As to the laſt, although the Inconveniencies ariſing therefrom be worſt for the People, yet 'tis not lawful for particular men to act againſt the right Power in being, 'tis the Duty of ſuch to ſubmit and ſuffer. The uſe which true Chriſtian People will make of it, is, to conſider ſuch Princes as Scourges in the Hand of God, to chaſtiſe them for their Sins, which they ought to be humbled under; this is the right and uſual Frame which men ought to be in, the Caſe being clearly different upon extraordinary occaſions, when the Quarrel is between God and the Prince.

When God deprives a Prince of the Dignity he had raiſed him to, no man will certainly call to queſtion the Juſtice of his Proceeding, for he hath an abſolute right to raiſe up and pull down whom he pleaſes; no doubt but *Saul* had forfeited his Kingdom to God when he rejected him; yet in theſe Caſes, whereof People are not to judge of, they muſt ſtand to the revealed Will of God, which is to obey ſuperior Powers, God is juſt in ſuch Proceedings, but men not ſo; for ſometimes he makes uſe of wicked Inſtruments to bring his purpoſe to paſs, and though he ſuffers them to execute his Will which is Good, he doth not approve of their Actions which are Evil, ariſing from different Principles, and tending to contrary Ends: Let all Subjects imitate *David* in the Caſe of *Saul*, which I have already inſtanced; he was ſure of *Saul*'s Rejection, and of his Election to the Kingdom, and occaſions favourable, were offered to make him away: Yet, what ſaid he

he to his faithful Friends who exhorted him to lay hold on the Opportunities? *God forbid I ſhould lay my hand on the anointed of the Lord*: He waited God's time, who made uſe of the Sword of the *Philiſtines* to take away the Life of *Saul.*

Some ſtand upon this, that the publick Good is the end of all Governments, and ought to be the aim of all Governours; *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto*; and when there is a Contrariety of this, the concerns of the whole muſt be preferred to thoſe of a Member, or elſe the Authority which Rulers have received from the People, when it doth not anſwer it's end, returns to the People, who is ever in a Minority and under Age, and conſequently hath no power to make his Right away for the preſent, and much leſs from thoſe who for the future are to ſucceed in it's Right and Liberty. To this I ſay, that the publick Good indeed, ought to be the end of the politick Actions: But, who ſhall judge of the Contrariety of the ends of Governours, and of the Government? Shall private men do it who are not intruſted therewith, and are not acquainted with the Grounds, Ends of Actions, and other Myſteries of State? Often there is a great Conſent and Conformity of thoſe things, which to the Eyes of particular men, and to the Capacity of the Commonalty, appear very contrary. In Politicks, one is not to judge of the whole by ſome pieces looſe from it. If a man, ſeeing one part of a curious piece of Work, would deſpiſe the whole, becauſe it is aſunder from the reſt, and makes no ſhew, as may be the ſeveral pieces of a Cabinet, a Watch, a Ship, *&c.* it were no Wit nor Wiſdom in him ſo to do, but let all parts be joyned together, and then one will

will admire at the Rarity and Beauty of the Work: So there are ſo many parts of the Politick Government, which though very much different, yet being prudently cemented together, will very well agree and make an Harmonious and admirable a Conformity. The object of Phyſick and Chirurgery, is to preſerve Health, and reſtore it when it is loſt; but how different are the means to come to that end? there are hot and cold, gentle and violent Remedies; Corroſives are uſed as well as Lenitives, and ſometimes an Arm or a Leg are cut off to ſave the whole Body, which manner of Cures are required in a politick Body, which ſome who know not why, nor for what ſuch things are done, will call Cruelty.

Princes ſay they are but Members of politick Bodies; I confeſs it, but what a difference is there between Members; they are the Head, and what part of the Body is comparable to it? 'tis the Seat of the Underſtanding, Wit, Wiſdom and Prudence, whereby the whole Body is acted and directed; what a thouſand Sea-unexperienced Souldiers aboard a Ship in the main Ocean, in compariſon of a good Pilot? Certainly as the Head is above all the Body in Excellency and Office, ſo is a Prince in Dignity over the whole body of his Subjects; beſides that, as I ſaid before, though Monarchs have their Election from the People, yet their Authority is derived from God's, to whom they are accountable for the right or wrong uſe of it. As to the Right, which the People cannot give away from himſelf, it will not hold in hereditary Monarchies, for elſe this were to give and not give; and no Prince or Family after this

this rate, could be ſure, whether the Authority which the People have diveſted themſelves of, and inveſted him with, be his or the People's, this would be too great an uncertainty. However this is true in thoſe places where Dignities are Perſonal and only for a time, as may be three or four years, more or leſs, or even for Life only, becauſe in ſuch Caſes the People reſerved for themſelves that Power (which is not done in point of ſucceſſive Monarchies) as alſo in mixed Governments, as was that of *Rome*, where the Authority was divided between the Senate and the People; this laſt choſe two Conſuls of the Order of the firſt, to rule the Republick for one year, to whom they conveyed part of their Power, the other part being conferred on ſome Tribunes, to whom they committed the care and Preſervation of their Liberties, in caſe they had been attempted upon by the Conſuls; but all know what Claſhings between Senate and People, and what Innovations and Alterations there happened from time to time. But as to theſe things, the fundamental Conſtitutions of particular Nations muſt be the Rule of them; for as I ſaid before, God permitted the People of ſeveral Countries to make Laws whereby to be ruled, and approved them. So that when he who is the Maſter hath permitted to Societies to make Laws for order and diſtinction ſake; theſe Laws being once ſetled, it is unlawful to break them.

But ſuch is the Pride and Unthankfulneſs of men, that upon the leaſt real or imaginary diſorder in the State, they burſt out into Grumblings and Complaints, talk of nothing but of Reforming, and yet take no notice of, and are not thankful

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to God and Superiors, for the Peace, Quietneſs, and other Advantages they enjoy under it; ſo that inſtead of ſtrengthening the hands of Rulers as much as in them lyes, they diſcourage them from carrying on of that great Work. The Government is a great Burthen, which made an Emperor ſay, *If men knew the weight of a Crown, they would not vouchſafe to take it up when it lyes down.* And under the benefit of this politick Order, particular Perſons enjoy ſuch Conveniencies as the greateſt Kings could not obtain, for all the number of their Officers; without it, How many Ships? How many Men would be required to go into all parts of the World, to fetch ſome the Drugs, others the Works and Curioſities of thoſe Countreys? How many men within five, ſix, ſeven or eight dayes to bring and carry News almoſt from all Parts of *Europe*? How much Money to defray them? How many Horſes to carry them? How many Inns to lodge them? How many Souldiers to ſecure the Wayes for them? How many to make their Shoes, Cloaths, and other neceſſaries which almoſt go to an Infinite. Well, any Citizen hath all this without danger, trouble, or difficulty, under the benefit of politick Order. Merchants run the Hazard of bringing things from a far Country; by the means of Poſts, one is within few dayes acquainted with what paſſes in *Europe*; ſome paſs their whole Life in the ſtudy of Phyſick, to cure bodily Diſeaſes; Divines unfold the Myſteries of Salvation; Lawyers do defend the Cauſes and Right; as for Tradeſmen, they are all as his Officers, for all work for him for a ſmall Reward, and he is not troubled with them, nor obliged to provide for their wants.

What great Advantages are these, and many more, which for brevity sake I name not, procured to man thorough politick Order, which also keeps within bounds, the unsatiable greediness of some by the fear of Penalties, who also would take great advantage, and extreamly exact upon the necessity which others stand in of their help; in a word, we owe to this Order, all that contributes to the Pleasure, and satisfies the necessities of Life; so that we are much obliged to the Preservers of it, that is to those in whom resides the Authority which rules and preserves States: Who then can after this doubt of that respect and obedience due to superior Powers, which though they have been invented by the Pride and Corruption of men, yet are approved of by Reason, and confirmed by Religion, upon which last account is required, not only an outward shew, but an inward frame; for there being a divine Authority for it, we ought to do it for Conscience sake, which makes that inward Disposition very necessary, therefore we are bidden to pray for them; now Prayer hath a Relation to the inward affection of the Soul; and because often out of the abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaketh; we are ordered by the effect to abstain from the Cause, when Scripture forbids us, *Not to revile* or speak amiss of *the Prince of the People*, and those who despised *Saul* are called Children of *Belial*, 1 *Sam.* 10. 27.

Yet I do not say that the respect due to Authority, ought so to blind and corrupt our judgment, as to make us esteem in it, that which ought not to be so (now esteem is part of that inward respect I was just now speaking of,) and this respect doth

doth very well conſiſt with their Defects and Miſeries, for they are all men, ſubject to like Infirmities as others, inſomuch that inwardly I may prefer to them, thoſe who have more real grounds and natural or ſupernatural Qualities; for as a divine Vertue is to be preferred to that perfection (if there be any ſuch) which is by nature, ſo this is greater than that which is by humane Inſtitution: However, this knowledge of their Imperfections, muſt not be followed with the contempt of their Perſons or Dignity; but we ought to be very ſhy and circumſpect in what we ſay of them, whether relating to their Perſons or Government, and loth to cenſure either; often ſuch cenſures being attended with much raſhneſs, untruth and injuſtice.

Neither would I be miſtaken about the Cauſes of this reſpect, 'tis not their Riches nor their Pleaſures, but the right uſe of theſe things; 'tis not alſo their Pomp and Brightneſs that make them worthy of Honour, though this makes them reſpected by moſt men: And indeed this is not unneceſſary, and may well be without Vanity, for the Senſes of People muſt be moved before their Minds and Affections can be ſo; and theſe outſides make often that venerable to them, which otherwiſe would prove the Object of their Contempt; and in this reſpect Riches are neceſſary to great Perſons, to live according to the Rank they take in the World; for as the Eyes of the generality of men are dazled with it, they ſtand to theſe ſhews, and dive no farther into the real grounds of Honour; therefore in relation to the Commonalty, this outward Pomp proves very neceſſary for great Perſons, as Cardinal *Ximenes*

told gently one day, one who in his Sermon had pointed at him, and much declaimed againſt the Pride and Vanity of Cloaths in Church-men; *Theſe things*, ſaid he, *are neceſſary to me, not as a Churchman, but as a Governour of the Kingdom of* Spain, *to breed a reſpect for me in the Hearts of the People.* Indeed it is ſo in other Caſes; for if there be not a proportion between the quality of Perſons, and of means to live accordingly, that quality becomes contemptible in the Eyes of the People, who ſeldom makes difference between the right or wrong cauſes of Honour and Reſpect, which in reference to Princes, doth conſiſt in the Character which God hath printed on their Forehead, and in that part of his Authority he hath imparted to them. Other Conſiderations are not of that moment, but may eaſily be brought in upon the account of Intereſt; namely, how under them every one enjoyes his own. Subjects travel without danger, live quietly at home, receive the benefit of Trade, and have the fruit of the labours and induſtry of Tradeſmen.

But (without prejudice to the reſpect we owe to Superiors) having ſpoken of the duty of their Inferiors to them, we may now ſay ſomething of the Opinion they ought to have of themſelves, for not only the Obligations are reciprocal, but alſo on God's ſide great Engagements are lying on them; for as he alone hath an eſſential and abſolute Power over all, ſo the Authority he hath given them is conditional, only to be uſed for the ends he hath preſcribed; without which, their Poſſeſſion of it is not lawful, his ſupream and independent Right he doth not communicate; therefore he hath given Princes Rules to follow, namely

namely, that of his Will: Men muſt not rule according to their own Will; for there is no Subordination between the Will of one man and that of another, as there is between that of God and of man; and if a man ought himſelf not to do after his own Will, much leſs can that Will be the Rule of the Will of other men; ſo that to rule over the Will of men, is God's own Right, who will have us all to conform to his Will, becauſe it is the Ground and Cauſe of all Reaſon, Juſtice and Equity; for God will not have things to be thus and thus, becauſe they are good and juſt, but they are good and juſt becauſe he will have them to be ſo; thus the mind of God is the Cauſe of Goodneſs, and not Goodneſs the Cauſe of the mind of God. And whenſoever ſome men obey the Will of others, 'tis not for their ſake, becauſe the Orders of others do not *per ſe*, and of their Nature bind our Conſciences; but we obey them, becauſe God commands us to do it; as we ſee great men have a Subordination in their Family; thus a Lord would have inferior Servants to obey his Steward whom he is pleaſed to ſet over them, for he acts according to his Orders; but if he ſhould happen to act contrary to it, and the Lord did let them know he would have them to obey him no more, their Obedience ceaſes and turns to the Maſter who is Maſter ſtill; but the Steward being but a Servant himſelf of a ſuperior Order, his Authority was borrowed.

Thus all Princes are but Stewards, of God for whom they rule, and not for themſelves; not to make men ſerve to their own Glory, but for the Glory of God, and for the good of thoſe whom they reign over; and as the Family is

not for the Steward, but the Steward for the Family; ſo Rulers have been made for the good of People, and not People for the pleaſure of Rulers; and they are not to ſee their own, but the Will of God fulfilled; otherwiſe as the Apoſtle ſaith in the Book of the *Acts* 4. 19. *It is better to obey God than men*; yet every one muſt not take upon him to be judge of this, for as I intimated before, I ſay now; when particular men may not yield an Active, they muſt yield a Paſſive Obedience. Nevertheleſs, ſuperior Powers will do very well to conſider their Condition and Authority as an Office, and not a quality inherent to their Being; they muſt look on't as a thing not their own, but borrowed; whereby they are made no better in themſelves, only it is an occaſion for them of doing much good, or much evil, according as they uſe it; for the greatneſs of it will leave them when death is come; but only their Works in the good or bad uſe they made of it, will follow them. But as their Power and Dignity are derived from God, ſo all the Honour and Glory ariſing therefrom, muſt return to him according to the meaſure they received; which if it be great, they are obliged too much, their Duty ought to be proportionable to their Power, for much will be required of him who hath received much; their whole care muſt be reduced to the Glory of God, the good of his Church in particular, and of their whole People in general; 'tis ever the Duty and Honour of Princes, to be the Father, and not the Scourges of their People.

Good Examples are one of the chief Things required of thoſe who are in high Places; People gaze and admire at the brightneſs of that Sun, whoſe

whoſe influences are never in vain, but produce much Good or more Evil: The Devil's ſubtilty is, to give vile and odious Names to Vertues, to make them contemptible, and to ſet up Vices under plauſible Names; and by the Examples of great Perſons, which whether good or bad, make a great Impreſſion upon the common People: Thoſe are ſad dayes, when Vice is practiſed, encouraged, and rewarded; and that State is in a bad condition, when Charges and Dignities are beſtowed either to reward Vice, or to put on men to commit it; then darkneſs comes from whence Light ſhould ſpring; then the Candle is laid under a Buſhel, and Salt hath loſt its ſavour. Inſtead of Examples of Piety, Juſtice, and Charity, there appear the contrary Vices, which being modiſh and in faſhion, many are carried away with that ſtream, and forced to conform thereunto, to avoid the blame of Singularity. The Example of great Perſons, doth encourage or diſcourage Modeſty in Cloaths, and behaviour; and all manner of Blaſphemy, Luxury, Debauchneſs, Gaming, Licentiouſneſs, and a great number of other Cauſes of Crimes and Diſorders: Now, if inſtead of ſuppreſſing theſe things, as they are bound to do, ſuperior Powers do, with their Example, countenance them: How great will their Condemnation be? a man hath ſins enough of his own to anſwer for, and therefore needs not to be loaden with thoſe of other men; yet thoſe, which through their bad Example, they cauſed others to commit, ſhall be laid to their Charge: After this, how few Princes can keep themſelves from ſinking under ſo heavy a Burthen.

Indeed they ſhould be afraid of God's Judgments, and pity the People who often ſuffer for their Faults;

Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.
Hor. l. 1. Ep. 2.

[a] *Qui magno imperio præditi in excelſo ætatem agunt eorum facta mortales novêre, ita maxima fortuna minima licentia eſt.*

It is a ſaying of *Salluſtius*, [a] That *the greater Fortune a man is in, the leſs Liberty he ought to allow himſelf*; becauſe all men know their Actions, and conſequently are more apt to imitate them. 'Tis the Inclination of corrupt men, to reduce all to themſelves, and to make themſelves the Center of all, which ſelf-love is a naturall Tyranny of ſin in our hearts, but mean People cannot uſe it, becauſe others will not yield to them; but of Princes and other great Perſons it is not ſo; for from their Youth, being uſed to ſee all People about, bow and ſtoop to them, they are eaſily perſwaded that all thoſe who ſo yield reſpect, are only made for them, and to contribute to their Pleaſures and Greatneſs: Thus they think they have nothing elſe to do, but to enjoy their Greatneſs, dayly increaſe their Power, and to perpetuate their Name and Families. This is an Error which it concerns them to know.

But to effect it, they ought to conſider themſelves under three Notions, as Men, as Chriſtians, and as Princes; as men they are equal to all, and labour under the ſame Infirmities as others, therefore ought to be meek, charitable, and compaſſionate to thoſe who are their Brothers in Nature, and Children of *Adam*, as well as they, for their Quality

lity doth not diſpenſe them from the Duties of the common Condition of men. As they are Chriſtians, they will conſider they owe to God's favour, the Dignity and Authority they enjoy, and ſo will be thankful and humble for't; knowing alſo, that an account will at laſt be required of them; and as they are greater than others, ſo they have more to anſwer for; they are Sinners, and ſo lyable to corruptions, dangers, and miſeries, which perhaps make them appear vile and contemptible in the Eyes of God, and of his Angels; though otherwiſe men account them to be full of Glory; indeed upon this account this task is very hard; for inſtead that in ordinary Diſtempers, the Remedy is to avoid the Cauſes, it cannot be ſo done here; Riches and Greatneſs are cauſes of Pride and Ambition, but their Condition requires theſe Cauſes, whoſe Effects they muſt avoid, and ſo be poor in the fullneſs of Riches, humble in the midſt of Honours, and ſenſible of miſeries in the height of their Proſperity; 'tis then viſible, how difficult it is herein, to ſeparate the uſe from the abuſe of theſe things.

As they are Princes, 'tis neceſſary for Majeſty and diſtinction-ſake, to be attended with outward ſhew and Pomp; 'tis fit they ſhould have Riches to maintain their Dignity; and as they are raiſed above all that are round about them, ſo they may juſtly exact Honour and Tribute from them: They muſt not undervalue themſelves, nor do any thing unworthy of the Authority of God, whom they repreſent; ſo they are bound to defend the Honour and Dignity of their Crowns, which are become their own Right, which they may aſſert as well as that of others; for that which

which before the Election was indifferent, becomes juſt after it, which to diſturb it, is very unjuſt. Now Princes are to puniſh all manner of Injuſtice, therefore they may act according to theſe three ſorts of Capacities, which do well conſiſt one with another; for though there be a Diverſity, yet there is no Contrariety between them, being to be found in one and the ſame Subject, who can very well be a good Man, a good Chriſtian, and a good Prince.

Princes may well conſider one thing more in relation to that reſpect they expect from Inferiors; and this alſo is to be taken notice of by all great Perſons; namely, that this Honour muſt be proportionable to the Quality it is rendered to, whether inward or outward. I call inward Qualities, thoſe which otherwiſe are named natural, which do not depend upon the Will and Fancy of men, but are inherent to the Soul, whether innate or acquired, as Wit, Learning, Vertue, *&c.* the outward are Superiority, Greatneſs, Authority, and ſuch as belong to the Character and Condition of Princes, as are Titles of Honour: To theſe two kinds of Qualities, belong two ſeveral ſorts of reſpect; the one inward, conſiſting in the good Opinion and eſteem we have of thoſe who are indued therewith; which Qualities, if Rulers do want, they will hardly receive the reſpect proportionable to it, for Vertue and Merit are the proper Objects of eſteem and inward reſpect. The other is outward, conſiſting in Shews and Ceremonies, as are to ſtand to bow, and be bare, which are due to inſtituted Powers, which men thought fit to yield to them, and it is ordered it ſhould be ſo; yet in different wayes, according

cording to the common Fashions and Customs of Nations; so that such outward signs of Honour, are so universally received, that those who do not express them, are blamed for want of respect to Authority: Thus I would be accounted very extravagant, if I took place of a Lord and Peer of the Kingdom, because this humane Institution hath given him Precedency above me; and this we mean, when we say, 'tis his place: If one would take place of another because he is the better Philosopher, he would become ridiculous; because Philosophy is an inward Quality, to which men have assigned no outward Precedency, but only an inward one, and of esteem; so if a Lord will have me to esteem him, because he is a Lord; he wishes me to misplace my esteem, because his Lordship is not the true object of it; but if he hath Qualities deserving my esteem, I am then bound to esteem him, which without that, he cannot obtain of me, though he were the greatest Prince in the World; because he is a Lord, I am not to esteem him, but to salute and give him Precedency; I must kneel, if the King doth me the Honour to give me his Hand to kiss; and I must be bare in the Chamber and presence of Princes, and I would be ridiculous to refuse to do it: Yet though these be but outward respects yielded to their Quality, it ought to proceed from an inward Principle in me, that it is just for me so to do, and to submit to the Institution of that Order.

As the Majesty of Soveraigns is in some measure imparted to certain Persons in Monarchies, so is also part of the respect due to them; for as in successive Monarchies the Authority and Govern-

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ment are ſetled upon a Family, whereupon they who are of that Family, are called Princes of the Blood, who by vertue of their Birth, have Precedency over all the reſt, by a wiſe and a well eſtabliſhed Order; thus being raiſed to a high Rank, particular marks of Honour and Reſpect are to be ſhewed to them, becauſe as things may be diſpoſed of by Providence, the Government may happen to fall into their Hands; ſo that 'tis well People ſhould be uſed before-hand to honour them in a higher way than other great men; and herein in part conſiſts the advantage of hereditary Monarchies, where Succeſſors are uſually known; for 'tis not ſubject to Diſpute and Conteſtation, it being known it is their Right, for when Vertue and Merit alone are to decide and carry it, few will yield it to others: For ſuppoſe they were all agreed, that a Kingdom ought to be given to the moſt Vertuous, to the moſt Valiant, and to the Wiſeſt, the Queſtion will preſently be, Who is that moſt Vertuous? Moſt Valiant? And they will not yield it one to another; and though the Determination of this be left to the Judgment of thoſe who have right to Elect, yet it gives much way to Parties and Factions.

The Authority which God hath communicated to Princes, in whom it reſides, is alſo derived from them upon their Miniſters and Officers, in their ſeveral wayes of Employment; ſo that obedience is to be yielded to, and whoſoever reſiſteth them, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God; but as in States are ſeveral ſorts of Miniſters, I will not inſiſt upon thoſe which are for Judgment and Execution, or any other kind. I intend to ſpeak only of thoſe Miniſters of State, properly ſo called, who

who are for Counſel, therefore named Privy-Counſellors, and who have the management, and make diſpatches of the moſt important Affairs of State. Theſe neceſſarily ought to underſtand the Conſtitutions in general of Government; and in particular thoſe of the Country wherein they ſerve; that accordingly as I ſaid before, they may regulate their Counſels, Deſigns and Actions; and theſe (having ſo long inſiſted upon the Authority, by which they ſtand) I muſt now continue to ſpeak of. In the Choice which Princes make of their Miniſters, they will conſider in them thoſe qualifications which are ſuitable and fit for the buſineſs they are intended, nor above nor below it; a thing well obſerved by *Tiberius*, as I could ſhew in ſeveral Inſtances. They who look upon a buſineſs below them do ſlight it; if it be above them, 'tis a burthen they cannot bear.

Indeed their carriage muſt be very Prudent, by reaſon of the continual Dangers they are in; the care of whole Kingdoms is no ſmall one, whereby they are often deprived of their Reſt; Watching, Fears, working of their Brains, tiring of their Spirits, do uſually attend theſe *Atlas*'s of State; and if things fall amiſs, the blame of bad Councils is laid to their Charge, and yet ſometimes are deprived of the Praiſe of good ones; and though often Candles-like they conſume themſelves, for the publick Service, and are in a perpetual and reſtleſs motion, yet they are in dayly danger of being cruſhed between the Prince and the People: If they have the King's favour, they labour under the hatred of the People, and are expoſed to the envying of other Favourites; and if they have the Peoples Bleſſing and Approbation,

on, the Prince may happen thereat to conceive Jealouſie and Suſpition. How great a Circumſpection is required in them, when they muſt tell the Sovereign their mind, about the good of his State, whoſe temper is ſometimes ſuch, that it cannot abide to be told of the Truth, in thoſe things which croſs their Humour and Pleaſures? for being uſed to the conſtant Flattery of thoſe who are about them, hereby they are become ſo delicate and ſo ſenſible, that they cannot endure plainly to be told of things; ſo that dexterouſly they muſt bring things about, and at a diſtance, not to tell them things directly, but to ſhew them in part, and only with half a light; not to tell them of the blemiſhes they have on their Faces, but inſenſibly to lead them before the Looking-glaſs, that of themſelves they may ſee them; or elſe being told of ſome things to be done, or to be left, relating to their Service, perhaps they would be apt to think they are reproved of incapacity to govern themſelves or their People.

It will be Prudence in a Miniſter, not to raiſe too ſoon or too high himſelf or his Relations; at leaſt, they ought not to make too great a ſhew of every thing they have (though they are to maintain the Honour of their Dignity) to hinder People from Talking, and to avoid Envyings and Jealouſies, for often they are expoſed to the bitterneſs of evil Tongues, and Pens complaining againſt, and diſcommending their Miniſtery: How then, to behave themſelves on ſuch Occaſions, muſt they preſently fly out and throw ſtones againſt every Dog that barks at them, or elſe muſt they lye ſtil, be inſenſible and ſay nothing? theſe

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are two Extreams, which to avoid, much of Wiſdom is neceſſary; if Cowardlineſs, which makes ſome men betray and forſake Juſtice, is to be avoided, ſo is alſo an unneceſſary raſhneſs which draws one into danger; under pretence of Condeſcention and Meekneſs, Juſtice ſhall be oppreſſed. On the contrary, if one is willing to ſuffer nothing [a] he will preſently make himſelf uſeleſs; Prudence can teach one to ſuffer ſomething, but not every thing, and make him fit to diſcern what is fit to be endured, and what not, though he may happen to come ſhort without the help of Grace. 'Tis Prudence which ſhews how to do things ſuitably and ſeaſonably, and to ſute Perſons with things. The only thing valued in a Storm, is, the Art to bring men out of the danger of it; neither did it ever come into the mind of any man, to commend a Philoſopher in that very time he is hard put to it to ſave his Life. A Patient doth conſider in his Phyſitian, only his skill to cure him, and not what other good Qualities he hath, becauſe he ſtands in no need of them; and generally in all Affairs, Abilities are moſt valued, according as they are ſuitable to the preſent Occaſions and Buſineſſes in hand; as we uſe to ſay, that Wit doth not conſiſt in the facility of learning Sciences, or diſcourſing well upon Matters in hand, or to come off dexterouſly in buſineſſes, or to find out wayes and means to bring his Deſigns to paſs, but it conſiſts in conceiving and knowing things as they are, good as good, evil as evil, great as great, little as little; ſo Prudence, ſo neceſſary to

[a] *Gratias poragravios, dan los hombres ſavios,* ſay *Spaniards,* that is, *Wiſe men return Civilities and Favours for Injuries.*

to a Stateſman, will make him diſcern a real danger from an imaginary one, and not to lye ſecure amidſt Perils, nor to fence againſt a ſhadow, or fight againſt the man in the Moon. Generally our Nature is not afraid of Dangers, though certain, except they be preſent or very near; as long as death is remote, though it be unavoidable, men commonly do not fear it; but when there are ſigns, it is near, then it ſtrikes a Terror, and makes men indeed ſtrive to keep it off: Likewiſe a prudent Miniſter in a State, will in earneſt endeavour to remove the neareſt Danger and the preſent Evil, commonly cauſed by thoſe who either fear, hate, or do envy thoſe who are in Authority, things almoſt unavoidable amongſt the multitude of Subjects. He muſt be wary not to be, or at leaſt appear, the Author of violent Councils againſt great men, though it were for the Service of the Prince, becauſe things may alter, and men will ſooner avenge themſelves of Injuries, than reward Services done: Let him do things in the mildeſt manner which the preſent occaſion can admit. *Simonetta* was zealous for, and faithful to *Gio. Galeazzo*, Son of his Benefactor *Franc. Sforza*; ſo as for his Intereſt, he turned out his near Relations and *Robert Sanſeverino*, who at laſt having made their Peace with the Dutcheſs, Mother to the Prince, whoſe Guardian ſhe was with *Francis Simonetta*, this laſt was barbarouſly murthered in *Pavia.*

He is bound to be true to the Intereſt, and ſtick to the fortune of his Prince, whoſe Creature he is, and whoſe favour he is engaged to for his Preferment; for indeed, though in one ſence I approve of the nice diſtinction of the Crown and the

the King, of the Perſon receiving the Dignity from the thing; yet in the other Sence, the Opinion of ſome appears unjuſt to me; namely, that if the Crown ſhould lye upon a Hedge, there they would Serve and Honour it, for there it is miſplaced, and it muſt be his whoſe Right it is: So that the Authority and Dignity muſt be in the Hands of him to whom it lawfully belongs; therefore all Subjects are bound to defend it when it is aſſaulted; but ſometimes the Caſe is altered, when God hath otherwiſe diſpoſed of it, and ſet it upon another Head; when this Crown is once tottering upon the Prince's Head, the Miniſter is to ſtrive to keep it up, yet by lawful means; though I know, and I ſaid ſomething of it before, certain Maxims of State allow a great Liberty under the Notion of publick Good, and they who go about to diſturb it, as ſome think, may be made away by any means, and they Ground themſelves on this, that a particular Injuſtice may be committed for an univerſal Good; this indeed ſeems to be a nice Point, and let thoſe who are put upon ſuch Tryals look to it; for let the Maxim of State allow what it will, Conſcience forbids men to do evil, that good may come out of it, and good means muſt be the way to a good End.

When Conſcience and Honour are offended, ſuch means as are unlawful ought not to be uſed; there is a memorable Example of one whoſe name ought to be known to Poſterity, he was called *Grillon* a *French-man*, or rather of *Avignon*. King *Henry* the Third being abuſed, and almoſt overpowered by the Duke of *Guiſe*, who had made himſelf the Head of a ſtrong Faction in *France*, under pretence of Religion, called the *Holy League*,

took a Reſolution to make away the ſaid Duke, and one day he communicated it to that Gentleman, with great complaints againſt the Duke's unhandſome Carriage, and this he had great reaſon to do; whereupon *de Grillon*, going away after he had made a low Conge, the King ſaid to him, Whither do you go? To attempt, Sir, ſaid he, to deliver your Majeſty from your Enemy: But, replyed the King to him, How do you intend to do it? I am going to fight him, ſaid he: but, ſaid the King, I would not have you to venture your Life; there are wayes ſafe enough without that; the other apprehending his meaning, ſaid preſently, *I am your Majeſties moſt humble Servant, therefore I am willing to venture my Life, but I am not your Butcher.* The King did not take ill his refuſal, yea eſteemed him the more, only made him promiſe ſilence, which he did. There was in this man a true Principle of Honour, zealous to hazard his Life for his Maſter's Service, yet not in a Treacherous way. As to the Deſign of *Henry* the Third, 'twas not juſtifiable according to the Laws of God or men, who might have brought him to a legal Tryal as a Traytor, who was attempting to take away the Scepter from him; and though the Duke's Faction was Potent, this was no ſufficient ground to juſtifie that violent Act, as at laſt was executed by others; though indeed as to men, when things are brought to an extremity, and there is no other way to ſave a State, much can be ſaid for it, ſpecially in thoſe places, where the Word of a King is a Law; but the Circumſtance of the precedaneous Reconciliation, by what is moſt holy in that Religion, made it unexcuſable.

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But ſuppoſe Miniſters or other Subjects dye, when they are about doing Service to their Prince, death is honourable and comfortable to them, becauſe it is for their Conſcience and Loyalty; upon this Subject the Words of a *French* Knight, Surnamed *Fearleſs*, dying at the Battle of *Pavia*, where *Francis* the *Bayard.* First was taken, are remarkable; he leaning againſt a Tree, the Sword in his hand, and his face towards the Enemy, though in a dying Condition by reaſon of his wounds. The Conſtable of *France*, who was for the Enemy, ſaid to him, *I pity to ſee you in this Condition*; but the other Couragiouſly anſwered, *I am not to be pitied, for I dye for my King's Service; but you are, becauſe a Traytor to your King and Country, and the cauſe of the loſs of this Battel.* Thus a loyal Subject will ſpeak, act, and ſuffer, but ſpecially Miniſters who are bound to it by a ſpecial Oath and Engagement.

The Smiles of the Court are ſometimes as dangerous as the Frowns of it; chiefly when there is an exceſs therein; and often Proſperity makes one run as much hazard as Adverſity; affected expreſſions of Love and Kindneſs are ſeldom without Deſigns and Diſſimulation. I think they are miſtaken, who ſay, that ſincerity is a next ſtep to ſimplicity, becauſe God requires it in all our Actions, and ſincerity may well conſiſt with Wiſdom; for if there is a vicious diſſembling, as when one makes ſhews and demonſtrations contrary to what paſſes in the Heart, as 'tis uſual with thoſe who betray others, and pretend great Love and Friendſhip when they are about cutting of their Throat, kiſſing and ſtabbing them at the

ſame time; there is a kind of diſſembling neceſſary to great Perſons, which is a concealing of their thoughts, and winking at many things which they have no preſent remedy for, ſeeming not to take notice of that which they obſerve very well; and upon certain occaſions, it is ſafer to bow than to be broken. Let him carrry himſelf never ſo even, and not be puffed up with Pride for the favour he enjoyes, he muſt be prepared for Storms; for——

Non ſemper idem floribus eſt honos
Vernis———— Hor. lib. 2. Od. 11.

Prudence will teach him to be merry without Folly, grave and not moroſe, and to keep a middle between Raſhneſs and Puſillanimity; between the Liberty he may uſe, and the Licentiouſneſs he muſt avoid. There is a great Evil called Anxiety of mind, which torments ſome, and makes them reſtleſs; ſometimes it makes them run head-long into thoſe dangers, thorough the ſame way they took to avoid them;

——*Multos in ſumma pericula miſit*
Venturi timor ipſe mali. Lucan.

Which agrees with what *Seneca* ſaith in his *Trag. Oedip.*

——*Multi ad fatum*
Venêre ſuum, dum fata timent.

God takes away the Underſtanding of thoſe whoſe Deſtruction he hath reſolved, *Quos vult perdere*

perdere Deus dementat, and makes them againſt their intent, contribute to the fulfilling of his Will; and were it not that there is a ſpecial hand, they might eaſily diſcern, *Si mens non læva fuiſſet*, ſaith the Poet; all which ſhews, that for all their Prudence, Favour, Fears, and Endeavours, Miniſters of State muſt look on God as the chief Author of their Riſing, Standing and Falling, and therefore ought to conſider him in all their Wayes; ſo that though ſome things generous are to be done by them, others ſafe, ſome pleaſant, others profitable, yet they ought to do nothing that is unjuſt; and as the Lives, Honour, and Eſtates of People are often in their Hand and Diſpoſal, they muſt be very tender of all: Hereupon I have two very conſiderable Examples of a Prince very Famous, 'twas *Henry* the Fourth of *France*.

The Firſt was a Point of Honour, the day before the Battel of *Yury*, a Collonel of the *Switzers*; having by the Cryes and Importunities of his Souldiers, been forced to ask him for Moneys, the King in anger ſaid to him, *Is it the part of an honeſt man, to call for Moneys, when he is to take Orders to Fight?* Whereat the Collonel much aſhamed, withdrew. But the next Morning, the King ſmitten in his heart with a trouble, which none but a generous Soul is capable of, ſent for him, and told him in the Preſence of many People, *Collonel, we are going to Fight, whence may be I ſhall not return; 'tis not juſt I ſhould take away the Honour of a brave Gentleman, ſuch as I account you to be; wherefore I declare, that I take you to be a man of Honour, uncapable of doing any baſe Action*; after which he embraced him heartily.

The Second was, an act of Juſtice mixed with Generoſity; for the ſame day he entered into *Paris*, after it had yielded to him, the Equipage of one *la Noue*, was by ſome Bayliffs arreſted for Debts his Father had contracted for the King's Service; whereupon the Gentleman being come to the King to complain of it, he publickly anſwered him, *I pay my Debts, and ſo muſt you pay yours*; but immediately after having taken him aſide, he gave him ſome of his Jewels to Pawn, inſtead of his things, which by theſe means were releaſed. It is well when ſuch Examples are known and followed by private men, much more by publick Perſons, eſpecially by Miniſters of State, who give motion to the whole politick Body; and who alſo will do well, when it is in their Power to infuſe ſuch Principles in their Princes, eſpecially when they are young, that when they grow in years, they may be ſtrengthned in the Practice thereof: 'tis indeed an admirable thing, to ſee a Prince ſo tender of the Honour of his Servants, for then Perſons of Honour are willing and ready to ſerve him; and when Juſtice, and not meerly his Pleaſure is the Rule of his Actions, he is ſo Potent, that he can do all he is willing to do, becauſe he will do nothing but what is [a] juſt; and when he thinks he can do ſomething unjuſt, he muſt not be willing to do it. What I here ſay of Princes, is applyable to Miniſters in their Station and Capacity; he who is willing to do all he pleaſes, ought ever to do well; for when he delights to do evil, his Pleaſure ſhall not laſt; and to be juſt thoroughly, it is not enough for himſelf

[a] *When a Prince can by Law chaſtiſe men, he doth wiſely not to make uſe of his Authority.*

himſelf to be juſt, but alſo he muſt not ſuffer Inferiors to do any unjuſt Act, and muſt leſs oblige them to it; ſo a care muſt be taken, that Juſtice be not ſold, for when it is, let it be never ſo cheap, it will be bought at too dear a rate; it is to be given and not bought, becauſe it is due.

For the other part of this Action, *to wit*, Generoſity mixed with Juſtice; 'tis prudent as remarkable; for he who is ungrateful to a good Servant, will thereby loſe hundreds more; but he who well rewards one, will get thouſands; and herein it will be more honourable to meaſure his favours by his greatneſs, than by the Merit of thoſe who receive them: Neither is it amiſs, when the giver of high Quality conſiders himſelf in the Gift, more than the receiver who is his Inferior. When one hath given, he may not upbraid his Gifts and Favours; and when he hath no mind to grant, let his refuſal not be offenſive, but void of injury and bitterneſs; for he who is denyed, ſuffers enough, and Gifts mixed with Injuries never oblige a man. Of all men in the World, Miniſters of State are the moſt concerned in this, by reaſon of the vaſt number of the Suites and Petitions dayly put to them; for by their means, People make their Addreſſes to the Prince, as he, thorough their Miniſtery, imparts his favours to others; therefore to be moroſe, is an Imperfection, very prejudicial to Miniſters, who hereby make as many Enemies as they have Petitioners; and to the Service of the Prince, People being apt to believe him to be of the ſame Temper as are his Miniſters, who they think act ſo by his order; or at leaſt are connived at by him; or elſe make their diſobliging Carriage re-

flect upon him, who they think approve of it, or elſe he would not employ them: And indeed he is much concerned herein, for one of the greateſt Diſſervices a Prince can receive, is when his chief Officers, thorough Neglect, Pride, Frowardneſs, or the like, make him loſe the Love and Affection of his People.

A Remedy to this, is to do things juſt, honeſt, and decent; he who hath a lawful Calling to ſuch a Place, is bound to rule according to Laws, and as much as he can, to conform himſelf to the Rule of God; that is, to have Power attended with Mercy and Juſtice. As God is the Father of all, ſo are Rulers of their Subjects, who are contained under the name of Father in the Fifth Commandment; for as God takes care of, and is bountiful to all men, as a Father is in his Family; ſo Princes and Rulers muſt do the like in their Dominions; not devour, but love and ſave the Lives and Goods of their People, whoſe Blood and Eſtate they ought to be as ſparing, as of their own; for they who ſtrive to grow too Rich, bring Subjects to Poverty; and he is not really Rich, whoſe Subjects are Poor. People muſt not be ſo ſqueezed, but that ſome Juyce be left to preſerve Life; as in Herbs and other Plants, Leaves and Branches are not ſo taken and cut off, but that ſtill in the Root doth remain ſtrength enough to bud again; Feathers ought ſo to be pulled off, that new ones may come out. No doubt but Subjects do ſometimes commit faults, which they deſerve to be chaſtiſed for; but as it is glorious for Rulers to forgive themſelves nothing, it will often be profitable to forgive others; yet ſo, that as a fatherly Clemency, is to keep

Juſtice

Juſtice from becoming Cruelty; a juſt Severity ſhall ſave Clemency from contempt; and 'tis not enough for Mercy to be ſparing of Chaſtiſement, and for Generoſity to be prodigal of Favours; thorough Prudence, rewards and pains ought alſo to be regulated. Good and ingenious Subjects, when they are uſed like Children, will, as it were, make themſelves Slaves to their Superiors; bnt being uſed like Slaves, they become mortal Enemies; therefore the Throne which is not grounded upon Love, will not riſe very high, or elſe will be in a perpetual danger of a Fall.

In point of Juſtice, 'tis well to act as Judge, not as Adverſary; as a Phyſitian, not as a Hangman; as wiſe, prudent, and diſcreet, not as chollerick, paſſionate, or revengeful; one ought to be moderate, when he goes about it; 'tis the part of a cruel man, to ſay, *Sentiat ſe mori*; and when a man is once put to death, it is not neceſſary to drag and tear him to pieces, which is proper for a wild raging Company of Seditious People, *Illos crudeles vocabo, qui puniendi cauſam habent, modum non habent*, Seneca de Clem. cap. 4. Another ſaith———

Sit piger ad pœnas princeps, ad præmia velox,
Quique dolet quoties cogitur eſſe ferox.

There is the right and the merit of Ruling; Philoſophers ſay, that the Wiſe man alone is worthy to rule, which is no injury to Rulers; by this truth, to let them underſtand what Qualities they muſt have to Rule well, for it makes them loſe nothing of the right they have to Authority and Government; contrariwiſe it confirms and ſtrengthens

ſtrengthens it, and is much better for both Prince and People: Upon this Subject the words of [a] *Comineus*, about *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, are very notable, *It ſeems to me*, ſaith he, *that* Charles *the Great*, Philip Auguſtus, *and St.* Lewis, *who thought it not to be below themſelves, to ſubmit their Power to the Laws, and never made uſe of too ſevere and unlawful means, reigned more abſolutely and more quietly; died more happily than he; and their Memory will live more gloriouſly than his.*

[a] *In the Fifth Book of his Memoires* cap. 13.

To have States happy and laſting, Stateſmen as much as in them lyes, will avoid the cauſes, occaſions, and dangers of Diſtempers; like able politick Phyſitians, they will know the Pulſe of the Nation; ſtudy the Temper, and find the ſtrength of the People; which if they do not attain unto, many Inconveniencies will attend their Government; for without it, they can neither prevent nor cure the Diſtempers of it: To prevent it, they muſt endeavour to keep it in a good frame, and make Vices to be hated, and Vertues valued; not ſuffering honeſt and able men, when known, to want, or lye in Miſery, nor the wicked to have Dominion over the good; for at laſt they will become Maſters of all, even of Rulers themſelves; who on the contrary, are Maſters of all, when good and vertuous men have the upper hand of vicious and evil Perſons: Great men ſhall be maintained in their Dignity, yet not countenanced in their Violency; as the Poor are to be protected in their Quietneſs and Liberty, yet no wayes encouraged in their Inſolency. Sciences ought to be much made of, for without them, Subjects are rude

rude like Brutes; and though men are ever the better or the worſe for them, according to the uſe they make thereof, yet by theſe means, men knowing their Vices or Imperfections, grow aſhamed thereat, and ſo avoid falling into it: Beſides that, hereby they acquire Parts and Abilities to ſerve their Country. Arts alſo are to be entertained, becauſe the Peoples idleneſs becomes very dangerous to the Peace of the State; though every murmuring of the loweſt ſort of People, is not to be much minded, yet they are not altogether to be neglected, for ſuch a Leaven, may in time, happen to Leaven the whole Lump; and this Gangrene can get on the whole Body, by reaſon of the malignant Humours, which a State is never without; but above all, the complaints of Wiſe men, and of Intereſt, ought to be hearkened unto.

On the other ſide, wiſe Rulers do not envy their Subjects innocent Pleaſures, but when thereby they are drawn into guilt, their Indulgency will not become acceſſary thereunto: They alſo for their own part, will not make their Buſineſs of their Pleaſure; contrariwiſe, they will delight to do their Work, and what Recreation they take, will be only a Diverſion and Refreſhment to their tired Spirits; but if they run too much after ſome kind of Pleaſures, and follow them far, without fail they will go aſtray; and if in the Poſſeſſion thereof they account themſelves happy, therein they are like to find their Ruine. If againſt the common Opinion, ſome men account all things to be lawful to them, herein they account themſelves to be the only Wiſe men; and they who think ſo, are ſeldom ſuch: Now they who

are

are not wiſe, commit many faults; they who are really ſuch, avoid to be reduced to the neceſſity of correcting what they have done, but when they have done amiſs, they will not fail to mend, for fear of doing worſe. They will alſo endeavour to know their Flatterers, thoſe dangerous Friends, or rather Enemies; who being once known, will do them no harm; now the way to find them out, is, to know themſelves; above all, they will avoid falling into Anger and Paſſion, for then they ought to fear doing all ſorts of miſchiefs, (eſpecially if this befalls Soveraigns) for nothing can reſiſt, and none dares pacifie them.

All theſe things joyned together, will much contribute to the preventing of Diſtempers in a State; now to cure them, requires a great skill, ſo many things as cauſes nature, growth, acceſſaries, accidents, conjunctures, conſequences, and ſo many circumſtances being to be conſidered in it; for Stateſmen as well as Phyſitians, do not alwayes agree about the Cauſes (true and infallible Signs being not alwayes evident) which once being known, they do not ſo much differ about the Remedies fit and proper, there being general received Rules, how ſuch Remedies are fit for ſuch Diſeaſes; but great difficulties and contentions do alſo ariſe about the Method to be uſed in the Cure and Application of Remedies, ſome willing to begin with the Cauſe, others with the Effect; but certainly they will agree, that 'tis the beſt to do both at the time, when it can be done; to remove the Effect and more urging Evil, is the moſt neceſſary; to remedy the Cauſe, is the ſafeſt, and it ſeems in a due Order. As ſuppoſe there be a Tumult cauſed by the gathering of a Tax, it will be

be well to ſuppreſs the one, and ſuſpend the Collecting of the other; Juſtice may ſtop Seditions in their Birth, but when they are general, Clemency may well quiet and pacifie them: Upon ſuch occaſions, ſome things may be granted to the People, and others denyed them; but 'tis dangerous to grant all, and to refuſe all; that may be granted which is juſt, and that refuſed which is unjuſt; though ſometimes neceſſity doth not allow of ſuch a Liberty; but one conſidereth what is moſt convenient for the preſent, and muſt ſuffer an inconveniency only to prevent a greater one; as to take an unpleaſant Phyſick to remove a dangerous Diſeaſe; if preſent Evils be ſtopt, and Stateſmen will endeavour to cruſh Seditions in the Egg, and cut them in the Bud, there is hopes to prevent thoſe that are a Hatching, with ſtrengthning his own Party, and conſequently weakning the contrary; which is done with ſowing of Diviſions and Jealouſies between the Authors of ſuch diſorders, pardoning ſome, puniſhing others, and giving advantages to others; and doing ſeveral other things, which occaſions will afford, and prudence ſuggeſt.

It is the part of a wiſe Polititian, to conſider all, even the leaſt Circumſtances which he meets with, in ſerious and difficult buſineſſes to make uſe of them, either amplifying or leſſening, as he ſeeth occaſion for, repreſenting an Elephant, as it were but a Fly; or of a Scratch making a deep Wound, taking advantage of ſome Conjunctures, though in themſelves contrary to their Affairs; as did *Tully*; for though *Metius* had withdrawn and left him in the Lurch, he pretended he had ſent him to fall upon the back of the Enemies, which encouraged his Souldiers, and gave him the Victory. Thus

Druſus

Druſus made uſe of the Eclipſe of the Moon, to bring to obedience the revolted Legions of *Hungary*. Thus *Chriſtopher Columbus*, being denyed Proviſions by ſome People of *America*, and knowing how within a ſhort time there was to be an Eclipſe of the Moon, he threatned to take away the Moon from them, ſo that as ſoon as the Eclipſe appeared, they ſent him what he deſired. *Ferdinand Carter* having heard how the *Mexicans* expected the coming of a God of theirs named *Tophilchin*, told them, 'twas he; and *Francis Pizarro* for the ſame end, in the Conqueſt of *Peru*, made others to call him *Vizacoca*.

It is a great Prudence ſometimes, to make uſe of thoſe Church-men who have an Intereſt with the People, to work upon their mind; the ſound which comes from the Pulpit, goes often very deep, and ſome Preachers have great influence upon the People in politick Affairs; as the Examples of *Savanarola* in *Florence*, *Frà Paolo* in *Venice*, and others, in ſeveral other places of *Italy* and of *Europe* can witneſs. Indeed, that other way of ſending ſome men amongſt the People, to ſtir them up to Mutiny, only to have an occaſion or a Pretence to take away their Priviledges, is a thing very Politick, but not juſt nor Chriſtian-like, as was practiſed by *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*; for his Secretary of State, *Antonio Perer* being fled from *Caſtilla*, into his Country, the Kingdom of *Aragon*, there to ſecure his Life under the Protection of their Priviledges, the Jeſuits by the King's Orders, ſtirred the People to the defence of thoſe Priviledges; but the Royal Army being drawn nigh, the ſame Jeſuits recanted, diſſwading the People from ſtanding out any longer,

ger, repreſenting the King's ſtrength and their weakneſs, greater than they were; whereupon the Peoples Army melted away, and the King's came in without oppoſition, and took away all their Priviledges, and built a Citadel in *Saragoſſe*.

But a thing no wayes contrary to reaſon, and much neceſſary to be known and minded, is, the Temper of the People, which ought even to be ſtudied by Rulers; and yet wiſe men are ſometimes miſtaken therein; for uſually common People are Light-headed, Inconſtant, Seditious, apt to believe Reports, though never ſo falſe; Violent, and ſo often to run themſelves into, and put their Rulers to many great and dangerous Inconveniencies; for amidſt Seditions, is an univerſal ſtirring and motion, and nothing done with order; 'tis very hard to make an Enumeration of all Calamities which men are expoſed to whilſt that Storm doth laſt; for at the ſame moment, when People act againſt the reſpect due to the Sovereign, all becomes lawful, Violence, Plundering, Raviſhing, Sacriledge and Vengeance, the end whereof is very ſad. It is true, that ſometimes Seditions are paſſing, and tranſitory Evils, much like the thick Clouds, which riſe up to the middle Region of the Air, where at laſt, after a great noiſe, they break out, not being able to aſcend to the higher, which repells and turns them into Hail and Thunder, to batter and ſpoil the very place, whence the Exhalations and vapours did firſt ariſe.

However the Prince and his Miniſters will endeavour to prevent theſe Seditions, and take away every matter capable or likely to form ſuch Impoſthumes in the Body of the State, to the end they may avoid, being afterwards forced to apply corroſive

corroſive and violent Remedies, or for fear they ſhould become incurable; for certainly, if they who ſit at the Helm of the State, and rule Affairs, are ſatisfied only to remedy ſudden Evils, and not to foreſee and put them off, it will very often happen, that their Remedies will be like thoſe which are given to a dying man, which not only are unprofitable to the Patient, but alſo do diſcredit the Phyſitian.

The greateſt Vexations are not alwayes the hardeſt to be ſuffered; thoſe which threaten to laſt, are the moſt troubleſome, becauſe the feeling of a preſent Pain, hath certain bounds preſcribed to it, but the fear that it will laſt hath none: Hence it is that a Debility cauſed by ſome great Oppreſſion, inſtead of making weak, is turned into fury, when there is no hope of recovery. For this cauſe, a Prince, as much as he can, will avoid every thing that makes his People afraid of his Domination; to the end, he may not only ſecure himſelf from all manner of Riſings and Rebellion, but alſo to prevent fear and jealouſies in the minds of his Subjects, and that he may abſolutely Reign over their Hearts, as over their Eſtates.

The politick Body hath its Principles of a long Life, as well as the Natural; they both ſubſiſt very long, when in their firſt Conſtitution there is a perfect Symmetry, between the commanding and obeying parts: Yet this hinders not, but that it may ſometimes be diſturbed; and as from the low and inferior Parts, often vapours, not well digeſted, do ariſe, which do hurt and trouble the Brain; and ſometimes from the Brain, do run and fall Fluxions and Rhumes which do burthen and offend the inferior Parts: So the ſame Diſorder and

Diſtemper

Diſtemper may happen between the Prince and his Subjects; but when the firſt Conſtitution is good, ever there is in it a radical and quickning Spirit, whence proceeds ſome good Criſis which ſetleth every thing. 'Tis true, that ſometimes happen unhappy Times, which force the Prince to lay Taxes and Impoſitions upon his People; as when a War is to be maintained, or an advantageous Peace to be concluded.

To truſt and miſtruſt well, is of a great Advantage; for he who truſts too much, is often in danger of being cheated; and he who miſtruſts too much, runs the hazard of never being well ſerved, therefore Prudence and Diſcretion are in this to be uſed, though ſometimes one is forced to truſt thoſe whoſe Capacity and Fidelity he hath no experience of. More or leſs men may be truſted according to the Proportion between their Abilities or Quality, and the Affairs with the management whereof they are truſted; thoſe that are publickly managed, are committed to Perſons of Credit; but thoſe which are carryed on in a private way, are ſometimes put in the hands of inconſiderable men, for if they miſcarry, they are eaſily diſowned by thoſe who ſet them at work. On this account *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, truſted his Barber with important Affairs, and ſeveral other men of no note, who could paſs for Spyes, rather than for Miniſters; which way of Spyes is a very Politick thing, to know buſineſſes within and without the Dominions of thoſe who employ them; a thing very uſual with ſeveral Princes: being taken notice of, only as private men, they give intelligence of what they hear and ſee; theſe are employed within, upon the account

of Fears and Jealousies of State; and without, to know and undermine the Designs of their Neighbours, and so to order and dispose of their Affairs accordingly.

When Princes have private Interests and Self-ends, that is, different from that of their People, (a thing dangerous in States) they do well to trust for Council and Assistance, those whom they are sure of, and who depend upon their Fortune; but when the whole State is concerned, as they want the assistance of many, so they ought to take the Council of many, that is, of their whole People represented in Parliament, States-general, or under whatsoever other name; for having a hand in the Council, they will be more unanimous, and so more vigorous to forward the Execution. I am very much taken with the Speech of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, to the States of part of his Kingdom, assembled in *Rouen* 1596. he ends it thus, *I have not called you to this Place, as my Predecessors have done, to oblige you blindly to approve of my Will: I have summoned you to receive, to believe, and follow your Councils; in a word, to make you my Guardians: Few Kings with Gray Beards and Victorious, are of this mind, but the passionate Love I bear to my Subjects, and the extream desire I have to the name of a King, to add these two glorious Titles,* of Deliverer and Restorer of the State, *make every thing easie and honourable to me.* He was a Wise, Valiant, and a very Fortunate Prince, till the time he was murthered; admired at, especially for the judicious Choice he made, after his full Settlement of his Ministers, for his Councils of State, and of War Officers, for his Exchequer, and Admini-

Mezeray, Vol. 3. Fol. 1185. *Of the* French *History.*

miniſtration of Juſtice; none of all which ſort of Perſons ought to be remiſs, for all the Succeſs and Happineſs attending them in the diſcharge of their Truſt; we ſee ſometimes the abode in a delicious Country, weakens the Vertue of a man, whom the hardneſs of Winters, and the roughneſs of Deſerts, and Wilderneſſes could not bring down; he who could not be conquered by Arms, ſhall ſometimes be overcome with Vices, according to what the Poet ſaith of *Hercules*:

Quem non mille feræ, quem non Steneleius *hoſtis,*
Nec potuit Juno *vincere, vicit amor.*

A continual Series of good Succeſſes, will ſometimes make men in publick Places, forget themſelves, and ſtrongly believe nothing can fall amiſs with them; ſo that after they have done very well for a time, they give up themſelves to idleneſs and pleaſures, which is a beginning of God's Judgment upon them, followed with Diviſions in their Families, Factions within their Dominions, and Enemies from without, as it befell *Solomon*, 1 *Kings* 9. When private men do offend, there are ſome ever to chaſtiſe them, but 'tis not ſo of Princes, and Great men, therefore God ſets his hand to it, becauſe they have done amiſs, thorough Malice, or other evil Purpoſes; but indeed there are thoſe who have a hand in the Miniſtery of State, who at laſt are over-burthened with the weight of Affairs, their Spirits exhauſted, their Brains heated, and perhaps their bodily ſtrength waſted; Theſe indeed, are to be pitied the more, becauſe ſometimes they will take no Counſel, thinking it would be a Diſparagement, and convince them of inca-

pacity to govern, as it befell *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, not long before his Death; and the worſt is, that in ſuch Fits they turn off their faithful and experienced Counſellors, becauſe in their Opinions they differ from them, and bring in raw and unfaithful ones, who comply with them in every thing, and ſtudy only how to humour them.

It is a good Cuſtom of ſome Princes, eſpecially of the *German* Nation, when they find the Sons of ſome of their Counſellors, or of other Subjects to be hopeful, to take care of their Breeding, and to ſend them abroad to get Experience in the World, to be inſtructed in Politicks, and fitted to aſſiſt them in the Government of their People: Certainly if ſuch have any Parts, having from their Youth been brought up to theſe things, they muſt needs have acquired a Capacity to do it; and the care which the Prince hath taken of them, ought to be a ſtrong tye to engage them to faithfulneſs. This alſo is the Maxim of the *Roman* Empire. *Conſilia*, ſaith one, *Non tam numeranda quàm ponderanda*: When Counſels are given, they ſhould be followed for their weight more than for their number; therefore as the Prince, is ever to be the head of his Counſel, ſo in him Reaſon ought to preſide: This will make him take notice of the Fidelity of a Counſellor, when he adviſes contrary to his own Intereſt; and when, out of his Zeal and Duty, he Sacrifices himſelf to the Intereſt of his Prince; of which there is a notable Example in one *Taneguy du Chatel*, who upon the occaſion of a Treaty between *Charles* the Seventh of *France* his Maſter, and the Duke of *Britanny*, which was much to the Advantage of the King, the Duke refuſing to conclude, except the ſaid *Taneguy* was diſmiſſed

diſmiſſed from Court, becauſe he had a hand in the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*; and the King being willing, by no means, to part with him who had ſaved his Life; yet he thorough much Intreaties, and with much ado, obtained it, thus becoming a Sollicitor againſt himſelf. But not to go ſo far, this Nation affords a later and more notable an Example, in as much as this was for Death, when the other was but for a removal from Court; to ſacrifice his Fortune and Life to the Intereſt of his Prince, is the greateſt mark of Fidelity that can be given by men.

Yet out of this, I will not argue that they muſt venture, and care not for what is their own, to come nigh to, and be employed by Princes; this I bring to prove the Fidelity, and not the Capacity of Perſons: On the contrary, they who manage well their own Affairs, are better qualified to take care of thoſe of others, than they who know not how to do it; therefore the Emperor *Baſilius* in his advice to his Son, deſires him, *To make uſe of the Counſels of thoſe, who thorough Prudence, have bettered their Affairs; and not of thoſe, who thorough imprudence made them to decay; for he who hath not well managed his own, will hardly be able to manage thoſe of other mens.* Every man's Family is a kind of a petty State, and he who doth not know how to govern little ones, will be leſs able to rule thoſe which are greater. This I ſay the more, becauſe there is ſo much Prudence required in publick Perſons, for all the general Rules and Maxims of Government, that it cannot be acquired all at once, but by degrees, as is the Temper and Intereſt of ſeveral Nations, and the knowledge of many Languages, which are not gotten, but with

much Study and Application, and which are so necessary to publick Ministers, the more easily and advantageously to treat with, and understand Forreigners in all their Negotiations.

Now all the Art and Rules of Government, which thorough labour, industry, and experience Ministers have gotten, they will fit for the particular Country wherein they serve: Without this Application, all their skill is a bare Notion, and meer Speculation, more hurtful than profitable; useless both for Council and Action; and when it succeeds, 'tis more by chance, than out of any real Grounds; therefore they will aim at making their Ministery more Beneficial than Famous, subservient to the publick Good, more than to their own Name and Glory; and as little as they can, they will commit things to Hazard and Fortune, and avoid all unnecessary Pomp and Expences; but when the Honour of the Prince, of the State, and of the Country are concerned, they must be upheld; yet a difference put between Shews and Realities, that which is solid, being preferred before that which consists in Fancy and Imagination only; as the Body is before the Shadow, and that which is Essential, before Ceremonies and Circumstances. Yet, whatever they do, they will be sure to do nothing without the Princes Order, Consent, and Approbation; for often they like no Services, except they commanded them, and not seldom, they punish instead of rewarding those they received, not only against, but also without their Order.

Although in the management of Affairs, the Undertakings and Designs alone be depending upon men, because the Events are disposed of by

a ſuperior Power; yet there is no doubt, but that the Motives of ſuch Reſolutions, have a Dependency upon the uſe of politick Wiſdom, which conſiſts in the true and judicious Compariſon of things between themſelves, whether they be of a contrary, or only of a different Nature, as to know that which is good or evil to be done profitable or hurtful, convenient or not; or when it is a queſtion of two goods, to chooſe the greateſt; or of two evils, to avoid the worſt; in ſome ambiguous caſes, men are often doubtful what to do; the *Dilemma* being hard, and reaſons *Pro* and *Con* ſtrong; upon ſuch occaſions Wiſdom and Prudence are to reſolve the Difficulty, and make the Scales to turn.

Miniſters as well as Princes, are not alone to act; let them be never ſo active and vigilant, yet they cannot be every where; they muſt make uſe of ſome Inſtruments to aſſiſt them in their Work; as a Pilot who ſits at the Helm to ſteer the Ship, muſt have Sea-men to Hoiſe up, take in the Sailes, and do other Services neceſſary in the Ship: So the perfect Miniſter hath many under him, whom he ſets a work about their Task, and makes them act their Part: Now in this variety of Employments, the skill of a Miniſter, is to know the Capacity of every one, and make them Act in their Way; therefore it requires no ſmal Dexterity, to employ fit and proper Perſons for the uſe one hath of them; and to make the Genius of men, ſute with the Nature of Affairs; ſome are Dull and Flegmatick, others are Quick and Fiery; ſome Grave and Serious, others Merry, according to the ſeveral Tempers of men, and therefore are fit for one thing more than for another; now as it is very

extraordinary to find Univerſal men, that is, capable of all ſorts of Employment; ſo when 'tis known what a particular thing ſuch a one is fit for, it requires Prudence to lead him to it, ſpur him on, or hold him in, as the Miniſter ſees it to be the Intereſt of his Prince, or ſuitable with his Deſigns. A good Imagination in a man, can produce a good Effect, a good Wit another, and a good Judgment another, according as they are directed, and the good or bad Uſe made of them. As all Affairs are not alike, ſo all ſorts of Perſons are not fit for every kind of Negotiation, no more than formerly the Figure of *Mercury* could not be made of every kind of Wood, neither is one tyed to one ſort of men, of what Age, Condition, or Profeſſion whatſoever, to make uſe of for theſe Employments. Out of all theſe, there is and hath been men of Wit and Parts, able to manage State-affairs: Examples of this could be brought of Divines, Phyſitians, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Souldiers, and other ſorts of men; amongſt Princes and Miniſters of the Church of *Rome*, Fryars are much made uſe of, as *Padre Paolo* by the Republick of *Venice*; Father *Joſeph* by the late Cardinal of *Richelieu*; and at preſent, Father *Emerick* at the Court of *Vienna*, &c.

But for all this, ſome make it a Queſtion, Whether there be ſuch a thing as politick Prudence? attributing the good or bad Event of things, to that which they call Hazard, which in their Sence, is a meer Effect of their Imagination, there being no ſuch Principle in the Government of the World; by theſe means they think to clear themſelves of their Imprudence and bad Succeſſes, laying the blame of it, upon theſe Hazards and Fortunes,

tune, as the *Stoicians* did upon their Deſtiny; thus they think to refute the vulgar Error of moſt men, who ever cry out againſt thoſe who miſcarry in their Deſigns, who think every Sufferer to be a Guilty man; and that of all means uſed, the worſt were choſen when things have not ſucceeded well; ſo if any one dyes, though never ſo Old or ſo Sick, they will ſay, his Life might have been ſaved, if ſuch and ſuch things had been done to him.

This laſt, indeed, is a vulgar Error, but they fall into two greater and more dangerous; one of which is, that they miſtake or deny the Providence of God, whereby he orders and diſpoſes of all things, ſo that nothing falls out at a venture; he is not an idle Spectator of man's Actions, but governs all things with Knowledg, Wiſdom, and Juſtice. The other Error is, that they would annul and deſtroy the Order God hath ſetled in the Nature and Operation of the Faculties of men, who are free Agents. Why hath he given men Underſtanding and Reaſon, but to uſe them? certainly God and Nature have done nothing in vain. Shall the Imagination which ſo much abounds in means and wayes to bring Deſigns to paſs, and the quickneſs and activity of the Wit be idle? Shall the Mind, which knows and underſtands ſo many things in Arts and Sciences, in the qualities of Herbs and Plants, from the Hyſop to the Cedar-tree, and in ſeveral Secrets of Nature, whether relating to the Waters, and to the Earth; that Mind which raiſeth her ſelf to the Firmament, to know the Name, Nature and Influences of Stars; nay, which flyes to the very Throne of God, to ſearch into his Nature, Attributes

Attributes and Works; Shall this Mind, I ſay, be deprived of her Operations? Shall Memory, to whoſe keeping ſo many things are committed, be of no uſe; Reaſon, with all her Diſcourſing and Arguings, produce nothing; and the Experience of ſo many Ages, Men, and Accidents, avail nothing in the Government of Nations and Countries, which God is ſo careful of? or rather are not all theſe things like Talents, which God hath given to ſome men, by them to be made uſe of for the benefit of others? We are not like Stocks and Stones, but quick and active Creatures, bound to act according to the Lights God hath given us; we have a Mind, therefore we muſt Underſtand; we have a Memory, therefore we muſt Remember; and ſo of the reſt, and all, according to the Rules, Precedents, and Examples we have. They in whom all, or ſome of theſe Parts do excell, are fit Inſtruments to govern States, if they be endued with that Prudence, called Politick; for as there are Governments in the World, ſo there is an Art and Rules of Government.

'Tis the happineſs of Princes, when they find thoſe who are capable of, and faithful in it, and their Prudence when they make Choice of them; 'tis a ſign God intends a Bleſſing for them, according to his ſeveral Promiſes in Scripture, *To give wiſe Counſellors, to reſtore them, as at the beginning, and to remove Evil ones*; on the contrary, he threatens, when he is angry with a People, to ſend bad ones to them; for as ſuch are the ſhame of a Prince, and the cauſe of the Peoples deſpairing, giving motion to every bad humour in the State, and becoming a pretence of Diſturbance to all diſaffected and diſcontented Perſons, whereby they

are

are very dangerous; ſo good ones are Inſtruments of Peace and Quietneſs, and do ſettle the Authority of their Princes, in the Heart of their Subjects: 'Tis natural to Love thoſe who do us good, and hate thoſe who do us hurt; and this Love or Hatred doth paſs to thoſe, who are acceſſary to this Good or Evil we receive or ſuffer. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, *The Tyrant is he, who minds his own Intereſt more than the Good of his Subjects.* They who are ſuch, make uſe of Inſtruments fit for their Purpoſe; as did the Emperor *Veſpaſian*, who being very greedy of Moneys, employed men who made great Extortions, and then under pretence of Juſtice, called them to an account, and whatſoever they had gotten, was confiſcated to him; hence it was ſaid, he made uſe of them as of Spunges, which he ſqueezed after they were full; hereby he ſatisfied his Covetouſneſs, and pleaſed the People, who was glad to ſee his Oppreſſors puniſhed, yet was not in the leaſt the better for this, becauſe nothing came to them of what had been exacted; this was to make a Sacrifice to the Vengeance, but not to the good of the People, for others came in to their Place, who were as bad as the former: But when a Prince is tender of the welfare of his People, he ſeeks for thoſe who, he thinks, will procure it for him, and if he can but light upon thoſe who have Honeſty and Capacity to do it, let him value them, for an excellent Miniſter is a rare Jewel, very much to be valued. *Charles* the Fifth preſenting a Secretary of State, named *Eraſo*, to his Son *Philip* the Second, upon the day he had reſigned his Kingdoms, told him, *All the things I this day leave with you, are not ſo much as the Gift I make to you of this Servant.* This ſort of

of men founded Principalities, and for their ſake, People willingly parted with their Liberty, and ſtill are deſirous to be ruled by them.

This confirms what I ſaid before, how 'tis neceſſary for Princes to have Miniſters and Counſellors, if they are Judicious; have a ſufficient Authority and Spirit of diſcernment; it will be well to have ſeveral, for out of their many Opinions, he may ſometimes get much light, and with means thereof, he will chooſe thoſe he thinks beſt, and moſt conducing to the good of his Affairs. To this purpoſe *Xenophon* ſaith, *The King is to have many Eyes and many Eares*, but if he be weak and wants experience and capacity to chooſe and follow the beſt Council, it is more expedient to take from the reſt, him whom he thinks the moſt Judicious and beſt qualified; for elſe, if he cannot abſolutely be the Maſter and over-rule them all, very likely Factions and different Intereſt will creep amongſt his Counſellors, ſo that Ambition, Jealouſie, *&c.* will work contrary Counſels, and this with want of Secrecy, can much diſquiet the Prince, make him want Reſolution, and not know what advice to take, and what to reject, nor what to do; and ſo the Maxim of *Italian* Stateſmen will prove true, namely, *Ogni volta che un principe ſarà in mano di più, quando non habbia conſiglio è prudenza du ſe, ſara preda da tutti*, whenſoever a Prince, who wants Council and Prudence, puts himſelf in the Hands of many, he will be made a prey to all, but if he hath Prudence and Authority, out of contrary Councils he will get the Truth, and turn it to the good of his Intereſt.

To

To have ſome particular Confidence in one or two, hath been, and is the practice of Great and Wiſe Princes; thus *Alexander* the Great, had a particular Confidence in *Clytus* and *Epheſtion*; *Auguſtus* in *Mecenas* and *Agrippa*; and *Nero* did well while he followed the Council of *Burrhus* and *Seneca*; and I could bring many more Examples of this in former and latter Times, which I paſs by, to mention theſe Favourites I ſpoke of before, in whom the Prince hath a great Confidence, cauſed either by reaſon of the equality of Ages, conformity of Inclination, or ſome other reaſon of Sympathy; and ſay, it depends upon the Wiſdom of the Prince, to know whether it be fit to take the advice of ſuch about his great Concerns.

Seeing all Stateſmen, whether or not they make Conſcience of their Wayes, are agreed, that Religion ought to be uſed either in reality, as ſome ſay, or in a Shew as others. 'Tis clear and viſible, that a Miniſter is to mind it, not as a Cloak, which is Hypocriſie, but really and in earneſt; he will not ſee it uſed as a pretence to Diſobedience, Impiety, or evil Ends, not turned into Superſtition, but for the great and ultimate End, the glory of God, the Good and Salvation of Subjects. I believe no Nation in the World minds it more than the *Engliſh*; for I am perſwaded there is no Country, though of never ſo large an Extent, but will come very ſhort of *England*, in number of real Chriſtians, and of People truly fearing God, where the Argument of Religion is one, if not the moſt prevailing upon the Genius of the People; and we thank God, it is not here attended with Ignorance and Superſtition, but is in her Purity grounded upon Scriptures, not clogged with humane Inventions,

Inventions; and was Reformed, not in a violent and tumultuous way, but upon mature deliberation of the lawful Government, and by the advice of pious and learned Divines; which Reformation hath been confirmed by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, whereby a Bill of Divorce was given to the Church of *Rome*, and all her Will-worſhip, errors in Doctrine, and Fopperies exiled out of *England*; which Reformation, wiſe and good Miniſters of State will, with the utmoſt of their Power, procure the Nation to ſtand to, and keep out Popery, yet in a wiſe and a prudent Way; for in ſome Conjunctures, Severity, Rigidneſs, and Violence, could do more harm than good, for ſometimes things are undone for being over-done; wherefore the Wiſdom of Serpents is commended in Scriptures, and many have I known, who for want of this Wiſdom, have undone their Friends, or their own Concerns, which they had been in a capacity to promote, had they not been haſty and imprudent; and certainly 'tis the greateſt part of Chriſtian and Politick Prudence, to know when and how to act.

This I ſay, not out of any intent or deſire to have the *Roman* Religion tolerated or dallied with; on the contrary, it is well to ſhut it out, and have it diſcouraged and diſcountenanced, as being dangerous to Church and State; to the Church, by reaſon of her Corruptions, wherewith ſhe might happen to be infected; and alſo to Church-men, who thereby would be bound to ſerve two Maſters, the King and the Pope, and ſo their Obedience would be divided; to the State, for nothing is more contrary to the King's Intereſt, than to ſettle in his Kingdom, an Authority equal or rather

ther ſuperior to his, and deſtructive of his Right and Supremacy. I wonder very much, at that Parties boaſting of their Loyalty in the late Troubles; 'twas not ſo much the King's as their own Intereſt, that made them Act: Hence it is, that ever they talk of making Proviſion for the ſecurity of their Religion, the Deſtruction of which, was the chief thing aimed at; ſo that 'tis probable they did ſtick to His Majeſty, out of fear of their Enemies, more than out of love to his Perſon, or zeal for his Service, and they were true to themſelves more than to the King; the Extirpation of Popery was the thing they were afraid of, and they thought it would fall, if the Enemies of the King, and of their Religion, had the upper Hand; ſo they did but lend hands to uphold a Building, whoſe fall they thought would cruſh them to pieces: Therefore 'tis both of Religion and of Prudence, to have Laws againſt them put in Execution; their Principles being ſo contrary to the Peace and Quietneſs of the Kingdom, to forbid all manner of Communication from hence, with Prieſts beyond Seas, and hinder Youth from being ſent over to be brought up in their Seminaries; on the other ſide, to uſe all endeavours to bring them from Popery, to the Proteſtant Religion, encouraging them to forſake their Perſwaſion to come to ours, and taking all poſſible care to have Youth inſtructed in it.

'Tis alſo part of Religion in publick Perſons, to keep their Oaths and Promiſes, whereof the breach doth offend God and men, and wherefrom all manner of cheat and deceit is to be baniſhed, which makes Princes and their Miniſters forfeit their Credit, and keeps men from truſting to them: There

There was a notable Trick uſed by *Granvele*, *Charles* the Fifth's Chancellor in the buſineſs of the *Landgrave* of *Heſſen*, whom the Emperor did forgive. *Sonder Eenich Ghevanghenisſe*, Without any Priſon, which he altered thus, *Sonder Eewich*, Without a perpetual Impriſonment, giving a ſtroke to the Letter *n*, to make of it a *w*, which was a perfect Cheat, which at laſt his Maſter ſmarted for. This paſſed between men of a different Religion. But a worſe Trick was ſhewed in the Maſſacre of *Paris*, by thoſe who think that Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks; for upon King *Charles* the Ninth's Parole and Imitation, many Proteſtants being come thither, one night had their Throats cut; but take notice of the Puniſhment, as expreſſed by *Mezeray* the beſt Writer of *French*-Hiſtory, and this ſhews how dangerous is Popery, for this was upon the account of Religion: *Often*, ſaith he, Vol. 2. Fol. 1168. *he*, Charles *the Ninth, fancied to ſee before his Eyes, a Sea of Blood, and from time to time he was heard to cry out, ah my poor Subjects, What had ye done to me, I was forced to it.* Henry *the Fourth upon this account, told often two dreadful things; one was, how eight dayes after the Maſſacre was come upon the Loure*, the King's Palace, *a prodigious number of Crows, which with their croking and fluttering, made ſo great a noiſe, that the Ladies and the King himſelf were gone out to ſee it. The other thing is, that the ſame night, two hours*

Five Perſons were the Contrivers of this Horrid Murthering, who died all unhappily. Charles *the Ninth in his Blood, for he bled out of his Mouth, Noſe, &c. to death.* Henry *the Third was ſtabbed by a Fryar; the Duke of* Guiſe, *and Cardinal his Brother, were murthered at* Blois, *and the Queen Mother died miſerably alſo.*

hours after the King was a Bed, he heard in the Air, a loud noiſe of Cryings, Complaints, and Groanings, altogether like to that which was heard in the time of the Maſſacre, and that he had ſent for him, and for ſeveral others, to make them hear it, &c. *whereat the King was ſorely afraid, and the more, becauſe this laſted for ſeven nights together, alwayes at the ſame hour.* This is related by a *Roman* Catholick, as it was contrived and executed by thoſe of the ſame Religion, wherefore there were [a] Medals coined to commend that Action; and there were extraordinary and publick Expreſſions of joy at *Rome*, which is drunken with the Blood of Martyrs; and not only approves of, but alſo brings to practice the bloody Maxims of *Mariana* and others her Emiſſaries, and the late blood-thirſty Rebellion of *Ireland*; the Perſecutions in the Vallies of *Piemont*, &c. ſhew how unalterable are theſe Maxims, ſo that there is no truſting to their Words and Promiſes. I cannot forbear inſerting here, the expreſſions of the late Arch-biſhop of *Paris*, who had been *Præceptor* to the preſent King, in his Hiſtory of *Henry* the Fourth, about the Maſſacre of *France*. *At that time,* ſaith he, *in* Paris, *twenty Perſons of high Quality, and four hundred Gentlemen had their Throats cut, and above a hundred thouſand People thorough the Kingdom; execrable Actions! which never had, and I hope ſhall never have the like.*

[a] *I have ſome.*

Since the Reformation, no man hath been put to death in England *upon the account of Religion, or for being a Papiſt, only for Treaſon.*

As Miniſters look to Religion at home, they will not neglect its Intereſt abroad, but keep a

good Correſpondency (as much as may well be done) with other Proteſtant Princes and States, and joyn with them in the Defence of it; the more, becauſe all attempts againſt our Religion here, are contrived abroad, hatched in their *Congregatione de propaganda Fide*, their Council about the Propagation of the *Roman* Faith, ſetled in *Rome*, where are alſo thoſe who pretend to be Protectors of *Engliſh* Affairs in that Court, which is no better now, than it was in the dayes of *Laurentius Valla*, a *Roman*, and a Canon of the Church of St. *John* of *Lateran*, who thus ſpeaks of it;

——Venalia nobis
Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria, Sacra, Coronæ,
Ignes, Thura, Præces, Cœlum venale, Deuſque.

and as that Court rules their Church, no good is to be expected from either.

The better to perform things aforeſaid, Miniſters will get Religion fixed in their Heart, without which, they cannot really go about their Work, nor have true Grounds to hope for a good ſucceſs in their Undertakings, for 'tis Piety that hath the Promiſes of this Life, and of that which is to come; God is too juſt to leave any thing, whether good or bad, to be unrewarded: 'Tis well obſerved, that after the Adultery with *Bathſheba*, *David* did not well thrive, nor hardly ever enjoy himſelf, nothing but domeſtick Troubles at the heels one of another. This being ſeriouſly thought upon by men in Authority, they will find they cannot well proſper, without promoting Religion within their Juriſdiction, which they cannot do, except firſt it be rooted in their Heart,

and

and conclude, that ſince they go about to ſet others in the way of Salvation, they muſt endeavour themſelves not to be caſt away.

Comineus ſaith, *That of all Countries in the World he knows of, Affairs for the publick Good are managed in none ſo well as in* England, *where things are carried on with leſs violence againſt the People.* By the benefit of the Laws it is ſo, and by the Prudence of the Miniſters nothing is attempted againſt it. This Happineſs is commended, admired at, wiſh d for, or envyed by Strangers; ſo that here it may well be ſaid, *It is not ſo with other Nations as with us*, for in other Countries, Taxes and other burthens are heavily laid upon the People, without and againſt their Conſent; *Which* ſaith the ſame Author in the ſame place, *is not done without Violence and Oppreſſion*; and when the People ſuffers too much, the Prince is alſo ſometimes forced to ſuffer much from his Enemies; for when Reaſon and Goodneſs does not ſecure things within, ſtrength doth not much prevail without; and as to be really great, one muſt be vertuous, ſo he cannot be Potent, except he be beloved. They, in whom reſides the ſupream Authority, are the Fountain of Mercy and Juſtice, but more eſpecially of the former than of the latter; for their Power of doing Juſtice, is imparted more at large, than that of ſhewing Mercy, for Pardon comes immediately from the Soveraign Power, who alone hath the Power of Life and Death. Judges may condemn, but not pardon one who is already condemned; the Princes Juſtice is bound by the Laws, but his Mercy not ſo.

In his Memoires, Lib. V. Cap. 18.

Now I am come to another Point, that Mercy is to be uſed, not only in relation to the Life of Subjects, but alſo to their Purſes. Unneceſſary Taxes may be avoided; and when they are laid, they ought to be proportionable to the ſtrength of the People, from whom ſometimes it were as good to take away their Life as their Money, which to them is as dear as their Hearts blood. 'Tis well therefore, to be very cautious in this Point, for there are ſome kinds of Violencies and Oppreſſions, which are not ſo univerſally offenſive as this, and many men are very free of the Purſe of others, but when it comes home, then every one feels, and is ſenſible of the ſmart of it; the Rich who loves his Money, grows diſcontented when it is taken away from him; the Poor who wants it, is driven to deſpair, when he ſeeth himſelf deprived of that which is abſolutely neceſſary to his ſubſiſtance, and both will grow into a rage, when they ſee their Money, raiſed upon a publick account, go into private Purſes; they look upon ſuch as Blood-ſuckers, and are mad to ſee themſelves ſtripped only to cloath others; this they account to be no better than Robbery, and at laſt it will prove an unpolitick Action, to diſoblige thouſands and make them to be the worſe, only to oblige and make one or few to be the better; it were often better to leſſen the number of Officers employed in publick Affairs, when ſo many are unneceſſary, thereby to eaſe the People, than to keep it up, or increaſe it, when People are burthened thereby, not ſo much upon the account of ſparing their Wages and Allowances, which yet may be conſiderable; as thereby taking from many greedy men, the occaſion of making Extortions.

tions. This unneceſſary number of Officers, is a great Grievance to a Nation abroad; for ſome certain Commodities which make up part of the publick Income are much dearer in ſeveral Places of that Country, than in many Forreign Parts, which they are tranſported into; ſo that Strangers have it cheaper than the Subjects. Money muſt be raiſed only upon neceſſary Occaſions, and when it is, it muſt not be much more than needs, to ſupply the preſent Neceſſities of the State; and what is raiſed, ought to be well husbanded, and beſtowed towards the Ends for which it was raiſed. In a word, as few and as light burthens as can be, ſhould be laid on the People; and 'tis much of the Prudence of Miniſters, to find wayes, how to bring it about: Thus in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, the long War with *Spain*, was in great part carried on by Letters of Mart; but in theſe dayes, ſome think it would not be fit nor ſafe to put the Sword in the hand of Subjects, eſpecially when they ſtand diſaffected.

This leads me to the Conſideration of the Martial poſture I mentioned in the beginning, which conſiſts in all ſorts of Proviſions for War; of all which, there is in the Tower and other Parts, great Stores and Magazins to Arm the People, in caſe of a Forreign Invaſion, or of a War to be made abroad, yet only to be made uſe of upon occaſion; beſides, a very great number of good Workmen: of the former there is no danger, as long as we are united at home; the Ditch between the Continent and us, being ſo broad and ſo deep, our ſtrength by Sea ſo great, Landing ſo difficult, and People here ſo ſtout and ſo unanimous againſt a Forreign Enemy, who ſhould bring over no more

than he would be willing to lose; of the latter, namely of a Forreign Conquest, from hence there is no design, there being so much Reason to be satisfied with the Country, which is pleasant and plentiful; and not only sufficient, but also producing Provisions for more People than is in it; the attempt of Forreign Conquests, having proved so fatal to some Nations, who have sent so many men into other Parts, that their own hath thereby been made void of Inhabitants. This *Spain* may be an Example of; it being usual with the Body to grow weak, when its strength is conveyed too far out. In a word, that Nation is in a good posture of War, which hath plenty of Provisions, of Mouth, Ammunitions and Instruments of War, casting-places for great Guns, a breed of as good Horses as are for Service, of as good Oak for Ships, as any in the World, and men as lusty and valiant as any part besides of *Europe* can afford; and this is the present Condition of *England*.

Some forreign Nations have standing Armies, which are often a great Burthen to the People, and dangerous to the Prince, who when he rules his Country with an Army, is sometimes ruled by it, as the Seditions of the Janisaries in *Turkey*, and the Confederacies of Armies in *Poland* can witness; but here is no such thing, where are no more standing Forces than is necessary for the security of the Peace. Indeed it is well, when in time of Peace, Princes are attended only with as many armed men, as is necessary for the defence of their Person, and the Majesty of their Authority and Dignity, and not for a Terror to the People. As for those, who either willingly do, or are forced to suffer their Souldiers to undo

their

their People, they do, as it were, with one of their Arms, cut the other off; but if they chaſtiſe them for their licentiouſneſs, they will make them afraid of falling into it; and the better to effect it, they muſt well and duly be paid, for they will not grumble and complain againſt Juſtice, when executed on the Guilty. A wiſe Prince will endeavour, and his faithful Miniſter will adviſe him to be in ſuch a poſture, as to make his Allyes ſhy not to offend him, out of the Admiration they have of his Greatneſs, and his Enemies afraid of medling with him, out of fear of his Power; which to obtain, one of the beſt Qualifications is, to be Juſt at home and abroad, and content with his own; for indeed, they who make unjuſt Wars, only for Glory-ſake, do not deſerve to have it; and 'tis very ill done, to ſacrifice the Life and Blood of men to his Ambition; ſuch have learned to practice that ſaying in *Euripides*:

*——— *Jus regnandi cauſa*
Violandum eſt, aliis in rebus pietatem colas.

* This *Julius Cæſar* was often heard to ſay.

Thou mayeſt be unjuſt, if that can raiſe the upon a Throne, but in every thing elſe thou muſt follow Juſtice and Piety. A dangerous and deſperate Maxim, contrary to that of *Solomon*, that *the Throne ought to be ſetled upon righteouſneſs*. It allows of all ſorts of Villany, and as they have gotten it, ſo it may happen to be loſt; which ſhews how dangerous this Maxim may prove to the Authors of it; for as Cruelty is one of the chief Attendants of Ambition, it makes men to be hated, and upon occaſion turned out, except the Victories

of Conquerors be crowned with the Love of the conquered, they can hardly be ſecured without Violence and Diſturbances.

Stateſmen who ſerve in Countries, conſiderable by Sea, will adviſe their Prince, and as much as in them lye, endeavour to encourage Navigation and Sea-men, that thereby they may keep the Maſtery of the Seas, which is of an incredible Advantage; and to effect it, a conſtant pay muſt duely and exactly be given to thoſe who are in Service, and a ſufficient encouragement to them who are ingenuous enough to promote it, which when they attain to in ſome meaſure, a reward to them, will be an Invitation to others; and although thoſe Sea-men who are in the Service of Strangers, by learning their Wayes, may upon that occaſion do ſome good when there is occaſion; yet for all their great number, there being Employment enough for them at home, in the men of War, Merchants Ships, *&c.* it will be well for them, not to engage in Service abroad. Why ſhould thoſe who are in actual Service, lye in Harbours whole Months together, inſtead of going out to Sea, to preſerve the Honour of the Nation, and ſecure Trade? On the other ſide, as there is no building of Ships without Timber, a care ought to be taken to have it preſerved, by forbidding to cut down too much of it, or miſemploying it when it is; all manner of Mines are great deſtroyers of Wood. Likewiſe care will be taken of all manner of Tackling, and every other thing neceſſary to Shipping; and as they ſee Neighbours increaſe their ſtrength at Sea, the ſame they will do proportionably to their own, thereby to maintain their Ground and Advantage;

yet

yet in this, as in every thing elſe, they will ſee Expences regulated as nigh as can be, and Money put in careful and truſty Hands.

Farther, a Country is not in a right poſture of War, without Fortifications and Places of Defence; yet as much as can be ſafely, it muſt be avoided to give Jealouſies to People, who are apt to think they are raiſed to keep them under, and deprive them of their Liberty, which ſome Nations more than others, are apt to ſuſpect. However there ought to be ſome upon the Frontiers, to defend and ſhelter the whole, and ſtop an invading Enemy, whether it be by Land or by Sea, or elſe the Country will lye open to the attempts of Strangers. Beſides, the neceſſity there is to make new Fortifications, or repair the old ones; out of it, comes great benefit to the State, for by theſe means Arts and Tradeſmen are maintained, the Poverty of People relieved, the diſcontent about Taxes and Impoſitions removed. When the Prince gives back to the publick in general, and to Subjects in particular, the Moneys he hath raiſed from them; and when there is a Stock in the Exchequer, it will be acceptable to the People to ſee part of it beſtowed upon repairing of Towns, putting Proviſion and Ammunition in ſtrong places, building upon thoſe which are an inlet to an Enemy, and which can be fortified; levelling Paſſages, repairing Bridges and High-wayes, rigging and ſetting out men of War, building of Ships, publick Houſes for charitable Uſes, as Hoſpitals, or Schools to be made Seminaries of Vertue and Learning.

A Nation muſt not take occaſion out of the Martial poſture it is in, to pick Quarrels, or begin

a War with its Neighbours; and when, on the contrary, it is afraid of a War which could prove dangerous to the State, it will be a great Prudence, to go about preventing it; but when it is unavoidable, and there is a neceſſity of going to it, it will be well to remember that God is the Lord of Hoſts, who abſolutely diſpoſes of States, Crowns and Scepters; and therefore let Prayers be joyned to the Sword, for the Battel is not alwayes to the ſtrong, and dayes of Humiliation be kept. Thus did the Kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael* upon ſuch occaſions, and inquired from God about the Succeſs of it, which the very Infidels never neglected, but with much Idolatry and Superſtition, conſulted their Oracles, *&c.* When this is done, men muſt make the beſt uſe they can of their Prudence, for it doth conſiſt with the Providence of God, to let ſecond Cauſes act according to their ſtrength and capacity: thus the weak will yield to the ſtrong: they who have great Advantages over their Enemies, will alſo have great Succeſſes againſt them, except they commit great Faults in the uſe of them, and a wiſe man will make a better uſe of thoſe Advantages, than he who is not ſuch; and therefore when a War is open and declared, provided there be no Promiſe broken, nor perfidiouſneſs, he may take all the Advantages he can over his Enemy, ſurprize him, and uſe all the Stratagems he is able, to get the better of him; which when one doth, he is ſo far from being diſcommended for it, that thereby he deſerves much Commendation: Thus *Annibal* the craftieſt General that ever was, eſpecially conſidering the Time he lived in, when men had not by far, ſo much experience as of late, being

being aboard ſome of *Antiochus*'s Ships, having gotten ſeveral Pots full of Serpents, cauſed them to be thrown into the Enemies Ships, whereat upon the breaking of the Pots, the Souldiers being afraid; he by theſe means got eaſily the Victory: and another time, having been ſhut up with his Army by the *Romans*, he got out by the means of ſome burning Faggots tyed to the Horns of Oxen; ſo the five hundred *Numidians* he ſent to the *Romans*, helped him much to get the Victory at *Cannes*, and many others which he did, and other great Generals have done, which every where are to be read in antient and modern Hiſtories, have made them famous to Poſterity. *T. Livius.*

Queen *Elizabeth* did much hurt to the *Spaniards*, with whom ſhe was in open War, and protected the *Hollander* againſt, with cauſing once the Money at *Antwerp* to be taken upon her account, by which means none could be gotten to pay the *Spaniſh* Army, which hapned a little while before the Battel of *Newport*, whereat Souldiers were diſcouraged and diſcontented; ſuch things done upon ſuch Conjunctures, and a certain nick of time, are of great weight, and may lawfully be uſed againſt an Enemy, according to the ſaying,—— *Dolus an virtus, Quis in hoſte requirat?* ſo it may well be in other State-Affairs provided: As I hinted before, nothing be done againſt Oaths, Promiſes, or in a baſe way; for the Actions of publick Perſons, are not alwayes to be confined to the Rules of thoſe of particular men; for ſometimes for the publick Good, they are neceſſitated to commit private Injuſtices, it being not alwayes left to the liberty of Miniſters, to act as they pleaſe;

pleaſe; and there is a great depth in the Intrigues of State, which muſt be left to the Prudence and Honeſty of Stateſmen, whoſe Actions private men do very ill to cenſure, when they do not know the Grounds and Cauſes thereof; which to do, is as if a Patient undertook to cenſure his Phyſitian of whom, and of a Stateſman muſt be had a good Opinion; ſo that when any evil againſt them, is reported to me, I will be apt to believe they are miſtaken or ſlandered; and though the buſineſs was made clear to me, I will ever miſtruſt my Apprehenſion, and think I do not well underſtand it, nor the Grounds and Cauſes thereof. Every particular Subject ought to be in this Chriſtian and Prudent Temper, wherein alſo they will find Peace and Safety; the burthen of Government being heavy enough, without any farther Aggravations. Therefore the Apoſtle commands People to obey thoſe who rule over them, that they may do it with joy.

But all the crafts of Policy cannot do the work of Government, except the civil part of it be in ſome meaſure well adminiſtered; it will hold for a time, but not laſt very long; now Juſtice is the chief Ground, upon which this civil Power ought to be exerciſed; therefore to do Juſtice, is that which in Scripture God requires of Rulers; and when they are wanting therein, he is offended at them, and People, which have reaſon to expect it from them, is much diſcontented. Miniſters will underſtand how ſuperior Powers have been choſen by men, and were approved of by God, to the end they ſhould do Juſtice.

Τέκνα γὰρ βασιλῆες ἐχέφρονες ὄφρα λαοῖς,
Βλαπτομένοις ἀγόρηφι μεπάτερπα ἔρδα τελεῦσι. *Hesiod.*

Thus turned into *Latin.*

Hac unâ reges olim ſunt fine creati,
Dicere jus populis injuſtaque tollere facta.

And this to be done equally to all, without conſideration of Intereſts, or exception of Perſons: Miniſters and Magiſtrates are choſen by Princes, to do this under them, and be thereby diſcharged of part of the burthen; therefore they ought to ſee abuſes in Law mended, and grievances of the People about it redreſſed, all Uſuries and other Extortions deſtructive to common Society reſtrained; on the contrary, all neceſſary Conveniencies conducing thereunto provided, to look to the good of great and low, rich and poor, of thoſe who ſtay at home, or go about the Country; and for the conveniency of Travellers; eſpecially an Order and Price is to be ſet upon Proviſions; as 'tis wiſely done in the States of the *Pope*, of the Duke of *Florence*, and of ſome other Princes; which is not only convenient, but alſo neceſſary not to be expoſed to the unreaſonableneſs of ſome Inn-keepers, which is a hard caſe for ſeveral poor People, who muſt go up and down, to and fro, about their buſineſſes. In a word, all ſorts of publick Inconveniencies, ought to be prevented or redreſſed, and particular ones, as much as can be avoided. And all publick Perſons do well, to be gentle and prudent in the uſe of their Authority.

After

After all, Who is able, I ſay, not to ſpeak of, but ſo much as to name all the ſeveral things relating to the Government of States and Nations? Who can ſo much as to think upon that vaſt number of Parts reduced to it, and conſider the great variety and number of Contingencies that fall under it? Though every particular Action of all the great Stateſmen, who from the Foundation of Dominions, have to this day, been in ſeveral Parts of the World, were ſet down; yet all would be defectuous, and come ſhort of giving a perfect Idea of the Art and all Rules of Government; this is an Ocean, a Sea without bottom, new Accidents every day, new Diſcoveries, new Wayes, and new Intrigues do convince us of a neceſſity of new Policies: And although, now in the World, ſeveral ſuch Deſigns be carried on, as were aimed at by ſome of old; yet the change of one Circumſtance, doth very much alter the nature of Things or Actions, and the wiſeſt in this Art, do dayly learn new Notions, attain to new Lights, and get greater Experience, and of a larger Extent. Therefore I conclude, that though all the Books, all the Wit and Experience of the preſent and of former Ages were together; yet ſtill ſomething would be wanting to it, and in times to come, Politicks would admit ſome additional degree of Perfection; ſo that I think it to be unpoſſible, or at leaſt unreaſonable, for any particular man, to be ſo conceited, or rather beſides himſelf, as to fancy he is able to give a full account of this important Matter; for my part, I declare my Veſſel is too narrow to receive and contain it, and think it is better to be ſilent, than longer ſtammering upon it.

God

God who hath made all men for the Glory of his Mercy, and of his Juſtice, till the time of the Manifeſtation of this his Glory, hath for Preſervation of Mankind, ſetled an Order amongſt men; for the Obſervation whereof, all are his Servants, in whatſoever Station and Capacity they be placed, and of what Dignity ſoever, hath commanded all to perform their Duty, whether of giving rule or obedience, and not to abuſe that Power he hath given; or diſturb the Order he hath ſetled; for time will come, when all ſhall be called to an account, and ſtand at the Bar without any Priviledge of Dignitity or Quality, there to be judged according to their Works; ſo that the Superiority of ſome, and Subjection of others, is but for a time; How much, then, are all men concerned to behave themſelves well, that they may be found to have been true and faithful in the diſcharge of their Truſt, when all worldly marks of diſtinction ſhall ceaſe, and all Power and Authority be reſigned into the hands of God, to whom alone belongs all Dominion, and who with his Chriſt will reign for ever.

F I N I S.